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Experts Tour U.S. Cruise Missile Factory

LD1502094689 Moscow TASS in English 0935 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] San Francisco February 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin:

A group of Soviet experts toured General Dynamics Corporation's Plant 19 in San Diego, California, where components of nuclear cruise missiles, which are to be eliminated under the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, were produced, to check U.S. compliance with the treaty.

The inspection of the plant was completed as prescribed by the terms of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, according to Ken Please, chief spokesman for the on-site inspection agency of the U.S. Defence Department. He emphasised that both sides were very professional and that the time limit of 24 hours for such checks was observed.

As mutually agreed, the United States and the Soviet Union are allowed 20 annual "quota" or short-notice visits to certain defence plants until the end of 1992. Both sides inform each other about the impending visits shortly before the time set. The number of visits will drop to 15 from 1992 to 1997 and then to 10 visits annually for the remainder of the 13-year pact.

American specialists have conducted facilities since August 1988, and Soviet experts toured U.S. military plants in Western Europe four times. The inspection in San Diego is the first such check on American territory after the completion of base inspections in August 1988, during which both sides specified the location, number and classes of missiles subject for elimination under the INF Treaty. Current tours check implementation and compliance with treaty provisions.

Apart from Plant 19 in San Diego, there are another five military facilities in the west of the United States which are to be inspected by Soviet experts. These are an Army arsenal in Pueblo, Colorado, Air Force bases in Fort Washakie and in Davis Monthan, Arizona, the Dugway Range and a secret plant in Utah, where components for Pershing-2 missiles were produced.

Pershing-2 Launcher Destruction Begins in FRG

LD1402115989 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn February 14 TASS—The destruction of yet another batch of Pershing-2 missile launchers began today at the technical service centre for U.S. Pershing-2 intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Hausen, a suburb of Frankfurt-on-Main. This is being done under the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Destruction operations are carried out at a specially equipped shop of the centre. The launchers are being cut into several parts by means of gas torches and power saws and then sent as scrap metal for resmelting.

The destruction of launchers is the only missile component eliminating operation being carried out in Western Europe. The process of eliminating Pershing-2 and cruise missiles is taking place on U.S. territory.

The launcher destruction process is taking place in the presence of a group of Soviet inspectors who arrived in Frankfurt-on-Main under the treaty provisions.

INF Missile Destruction 'Ahead of Schedule'

LD1302100389 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 13 TASS—The USSR and the USA are ahead of schedule in destroying intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, provided for by the INF Treaty, said on February 12 Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, director of the on-site inspection agency of the U.S. Defence Department, in an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency. The agency points out that starting with April 1988, the USSR destroyed 30.8 per cent of its missiles and the USA—30.5 per cent.

Lajoie noted that things were going better than the U.S side expected. Both countries showed political will for this process to continue. The general said that a lot of petty problems cropped up during the implementation of the three-year programme for the destruction of missiles. However, all of them were resolved. Lajoie pointed out that there was a desire to tackle them at a working level.

Delegate Addresses Geneva Disarmament Conference

LD1402174489 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 14 TASS—The leader of the Soviet delegation to the conference on disarmament, Yuriy Nazarkin, spoke at its plenary meeting today.

He said that the new concept for ensuring security, which has been suggested by the Soviet Union, provides a basis for turning about from outsize arsenals to reasonably sufficient defense.

The Soviet representative explained his country's approach to unilateral measures of disarmament and the initiative to reduce armed forces in Europe, which was announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the United Nations on December 7, 1988.

Nazarkin said that last January's international conference on chemical weapons in Paris marked a new and decisive phase in talks on a convention for the complete prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

It is now exceptionally important, he stressed, to translate the Paris declaration into the language of the Geneva negotiations in order to finalize a truly global convention in the near future.

Nazarkin dwelt on the Soviet view of the principal objectives of the talks on a convention to ban chemical weapons.

Preparations for the convention's entry into force have in fact already got underway, he said. Soviet specialists are preparing to use a chemical weapons elimination facility under construction in the area of the city of Chapayevsk so that, as soon as the facility is completed, to start destroying chemical warfare agents immediately, even without waiting for the convention to be signed.

Special attention is paid to the ecological aspects of the chemical weapons elimination problem, Nazarkin said.

The Soviet delegation, he went on, is prepared to constructively share in the quest for ways and means to secure progress also on other items on the conference agenda, in particular problems of outlawing nuclear testing and preventing an arms race in outer space.

The meeting was also addressed by Indian Minister of State for External Affairs K. Natwar Singh who stressed the need to step up work to bring about real disarmament steps and bar weapons from outer space.

He pointed to the necessity of a mechanism for preventing the use of new technologies and scientific and engineering advances to meet industrial military needs.

Singh hailed real headway to a global convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

Karpov, UK Envoy Discuss Chemical Weapons Ban
LD1402162989 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov on Tuesday received the British ambassador in Moscow, Rodric Braithwaite, at the latter's request.

They discussed issues of prohibiting chemical weapons.

NATO, Pact Arms Data Reveals 'Approximate Parity'
PM1402142489 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 89 p 3

[APN observer V. Ostrovskiy answer to reader's question: "Whom Should We Believe?"—first paragraph is reader's question]

[Text] Not so long ago I was enabled to read the foreign press—formerly, as you know, it was closed to ordinary people. A great deal is written, in detail, about disarmament problems, and in particular the question of Warsaw Pact-NATO parity. I must admit that the arguments of your Western colleagues often sound convincing. So whom should we believe? A. Zubrilin, Moscow.

Colonel General B.A. Omelichev, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, noted in a talk with the author of these lines that despite imbalances and asymmetry in the armaments of the two blocs, an approximate parity does exist. This can be seen from an analysis of the statistics published by the Warsaw Pact on troops and their armaments in Europe, as well as naval forces deployed in the seas and oceans that wash the continent. The Warsaw Pact's superiority in some types of arms is compensated for by NATO superiority in other weapons systems or branches of the armed forces.

"The defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries consider all armaments and forces together, taking the view that they are interconnected and must necessarily interact in the event of their use in combat," the colonel general said. "Those who advocate one-sided singling out of those arms in which the Warsaw Pact is superior to NATO do not take into account either the comprehensive approach or the real interdependence of all the combat components of forces in NATO and the Warsaw Pact."

B.A. Omelichev confirmed, for instance, that Soviet formations and units are being withdrawn from the GDR together with tactical nuclear missile launchers. Moreover, the withdrawal of six tank divisions from that region and their subsequent disbanding [rasformirovaniye], as well as the overall reduction of 10,000 tanks, will not only reduce the number of these combat machines in general troop divisions stationed in the European part of the Soviet Union, but will change the structure of the troops, giving them a more defensive thrust.

Nuclear-Free Zone in Asia, Pacific Discussed
OW1402154489 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Eighteen years ago, on 11 February 1971, a treaty banning the deployment of atomic weapons and other destructive weapons on the seabed was signed in Moscow, Washington, and London. In this connection, our station observer Ivanov writes as follows:

The treaty banning the deployment of atomic weapons on the seabed was signed after the two other antinuclear treaties, namely, the treaty on nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater, and the limited nuclear test ban treaty. More than 100 nations signed these documents. They were signed thanks to the Soviet Union's strenuous efforts and with the support of the international community. As early as 1946, our nation had already put forward the issue of banning the production and use of atomic bombs.

It is understandably difficult to ban and destroy all nuclear weapons within a short period. It is impossible to solve this problem immediately. Understanding this, the Soviet Union has tried hard to achieve its goal gradually, putting forward all kinds of proposals against any race in nuclear armament. Additionally, in the past and at present, the Soviet Union has always supported all proposals for nuclear disarmament. This policy has naturally yielded good results. The treaty banning the deployment of nuclear weapons on the seabed is a step toward a nuclear-free world. More than 90 nations signed this treaty. Of the nuclear powers, only France and China have not signed it. Banning the deployment of nuclear weapons on the seabed conforms to the aspirations of peoples in the countries of the Asia and Pacific region to build a nuclear-free zone there.

Dear audience, would you not agree that if a certain nuclear power plans to deploy nuclear weapons on the bottom of the Pacific Ocean, this plan would run counter to the Roratonga Treaty, which designated the South Pacific region as a nuclear-free zone? We must point out that although China did not sign the treaty banning the deployment of nuclear weapons on the seabed, it supports the Roratonga Treaty and has guaranteed that there will be no Chinese nuclear weapons at the bottom of the Pacific Ocean. Everyone knows that the Soviet Union also supports the Roratonga Treaty. There is no doubt that all the antinuclear treaties signed by many countries in the world have promoted and are continuing to promote the cause of nuclear disarmament.

On 15 January 1986 Comrade Gorbachev put forward his grand plan to destroy all nuclear weapons in the world by the year 2000. The New Delhi Declaration against nuclear weapons, announced by Soviet leader Gorbachev and Indian leader Gandhi in November 1986, has drawn warm responses from people around the world. A new political thinking was announced last year. According to this new thinking, national egoism is nothing when compared with values such as peace, a reliable future, and life on earth. We have become advocates of a nuclear free world. In 1987 the Soviet Union and the United States signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This was an important breakthrough in this connection because this treaty is the first to destroy two types of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union and United States are now working on a plan to reduce offensive weapons by 50 percent.

These facts have naturally made the people in the world very happy and fill them with confidence. Such facts make people believe that a nuclear-free world is not just a dream and that all efforts to prevent a nuclear disaster and guard against nuclear arms races are not wasted.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 14 Feb

Afghanistan Withdrawal Continues

LD1402181189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] The situation around Afghanistan was today a major subject during a briefing held at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The briefing was devoted to current questions of international politics and it was conducted by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Listen to what he said, among other things:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is being completed. We note that the foreign press writes among other things in this connection that the USSR has fully carried out its obligations, is giving humanitarian aid to the local population, and is displaying legitimate concern for the events taking place in that country. All this, certain organs of the Western press stress, promotes a strengthening of the Soviet Union's authority in the international arena. The armed forces of Afghanistan continue to hold their positions despite the gloomy forecasts of certain official persons abroad and a number of organs of the mass media. The irreconcilable opposition itself, despite its threats to take Kabul and other major cities immediately, does not have much faith in its success and is therefore stressing economic and propagandistic actions to provoke discontent in the big cities and blast them, so to speak, from within. Around the main provincial centers are concentrated formations of rebels belonging to various parties. For instance, around Jalalabad some 15,000 rebels are concentrated; around Kabul, about twice as many. In the Nangarhar Province, of which Jalalabad is the center, detachments of Pakistani militia numbering several thousand men are actively operating. At the same time major forces of Pakistani regular troops are accumulating in the areas of Pakistan bordering on Nangarhar Province.

In this tense situation, throughout the country meetings of primary party and trade union organizations are being held at which volunteers are registering for self-defense detachments which are being set up on the basis of the special guard, security bodies, and provincial garrisons.

Thanks to the aid arriving via UN channels and the efforts of the Soviet Union in supplying Kabul with our planes and through the Salang Pass with food products, the food situation is being normalized. Via the Hayratan-Kabul highway, 150 tankers have arrived with fuel and essentials. At the approaches to Kabul there are another 300 motor vehicles or so. The Hayratan-Kabul highway has again become negotiable.

Despite the difficulties and threats still persisting from the direction of the rebels, no sign of panic are perceived in Kabul. The city is living its normal rhythm. [end recording]

Aid Given to UN for Afghanistan

LD1402145889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1331 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (TASS)—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is drawing to a conclusion, but the Afghan Armed Forces continue to hold their positions despite the gloomy predictions of certain officials abroad and a number of mass media, Vadim Perfilyev, First Deputy Chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate said at a briefing here today.

The irreconcilable opposition itself, he continued, despite promises to take Kabul and other major towns, does not have great faith in its success and is therefore placing emphasis on economic and propaganda actions.

Thanks to aid that is coming in through the UN and the efforts of the Soviet Union to deliver food to Kabul using Soviet planes and via the Salang Pass the food situation in the capital is returning to normal, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. He reported that 150 tank trucks with fuel and essential goods have arrived in the capital along the Hayratan-Kabul route.

Eduard Kudryavtsev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Relations Administration, who spoke at the briefing, noted that the Soviet Union's contribution to the UN program for giving humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan amounts to R400 million. He reported that a large quantity of cargo intended as aid for Afghanistan via the UN is already concentrated in the region of the town of Termez. At present there are three UN representatives there who together with Soviet representatives are engaged in resolving practical matters connected with the handover of the cargo.

Yesterday approximately 75 tonnes of cargo (mainly flour), which form part of the goods that have been handed over or are being handed over to the UN aid program for Afghanistan, were delivered on four Soviet planes from Tashkent to Kabul, Eduard Kudryavtsev said. He stressed that the Soviet side will continue to take all necessary measures in implementing its contribution to the UN program

Comments on Japan, France

LD1402150888 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is nearing completion, and the Afghan Armed Forces are confidently upholding their positions despite gloomy forecasts by some officials in the West and media reports, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told reporters on Tuesday [14 February].

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said the irreconcilable opposition, which boasted it will capture Kabul and other

major cities, apparently does not have much hope for the success of its plans and therefore is laying emphasis on economic and propaganda actions.

A representative of the Foreign Ministry's International Economic Relations Directorate spoke about U.N. relief aid to Afghanistan. He said the Soviet Union's contribution to U.N. programmes is 400 million roubles.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit several Middle East countries, starting from February 17, with the view to attaining settlement in the region.

Perfilyev said the Soviet side "is ready to constructively cooperate with all participants in the peace-making process in the region and hopes that Shevardnadze's conversations and meetings during the forthcoming trip will help convene an international conference capable of bringing about a just Middle East settlement".

Answering reporters' questions, Perfilyev said the Soviet minister has received no invitation to visit Israel and has no plans as regards contacts with representatives of that country during his Middle East tour.

On former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's statement that Japanese-Soviet negotiations and the desire to improve bilateral relations would be the best approach for Japan to the development of relations with the Soviet Union, the Soviet spokesman said that "the Soviet Union favours the development of Soviet-Japanese relations in the interests of the peoples of both countries, in the interests of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world". He added that this goal can be acheived only at the negotiating table.

Perfilyev said the standing mixed Soviet-French ("Grand") Commission opens its 23rd session in Paris on Wednesday [15 February]. The commission will centre its discussion on preparations for Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to France.

"The Soviet Union regards the forthcoming Soviet-French summit as a new important step in the development of bilateral relations," he said.

On February 24, a Europarliament delegation will visit Moscow. This visit attests to "the mutual desire of the Soviet Union and the European community to develop and deepen their dialogue on major European and world problems", the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

International Air Show Opens in Dubayy

LD1402133189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] One of the biggest international air shows in the Near East has opened in the Emirate of Dubayy. Some 200 aircraft building firms from many countries are participating. They are displaying civil and military aircraft, as well as various types of modern military equipment. The two-engine Airbus, 320 passenger aircraft has been the centerpiece of the program. It is the latest model from the European Airbus-Industrie consortium. The United States is displaying one of their most sophisticated warplanes, the F-16C. [video is U.S. newsfilm, showing F-16C climbing, jump-jet hovering, Arab officers and civilians inspecting F-16 and talking to U.S. aircrew]

United States & Canada

Bush Comments on Soviet Relations in Interview

LD1402190789 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 14 TASS—U.S. President George Bush gave an interview to the newspaper THE WALL STREET JOURNAL where he touched on some foreign policy issues.

Speaking of relations with the Soviet Union, the President said that now they offered new great opportunities. When something positive takes place in Soviet-U.S. relations and when tension eases between the USA and the USSR, the two countries should enjoy this, he noted. Bush pointed out that the United States "should welcome" the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

At the same time the President said that there were also problems in Soviet-American relations. "We've got to have a total review and we've got to understand as best we can what's happening in the Soviet Union," he said.

Replying to a question on calls by some non-government organisations to suspend the operation of the discriminatory Jackson-Vanik amendment to normalise trade relations between the two countries, the U.S. President said that he was "not prepared to say what my views are on Jackson-Vanik because that's part of our overall review". Nevertheless, he noted, "if there are concrete steps taken that are in the interest of better relations and in the interest of world peace, we ought to recognize that and give credit".

Bush Meets Canada's Mulroney on Acid Rain

PM1402145789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1, 7

[Vladimir Shelkov dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "President's Foreign Debut"]

[Text] Ottawa, 11 Feb—U.S. President G. Bush and his entourage spent less than one day in Ottawa on 10 February. This brief working visit to Canada was the first foreign mission by the new head of the U.S. Administration.

This trip to Ottawa by the U.S. President and his talks with Canadian Prime Minister B. Mulroney had one important characteristic for bilateral relations. Precisely on the eve of the visit G. Bush had addressed Congress and declared, in particular, that the time has come to take measures to reduce discharges into the U.S. atmosphere of harmful substances leading to "acid rain" in both countries.

The problem of environmental conservation has substantially clouded Canadian-U.S. relations in recent years. This friction was not removed during B. Mulroney's traditional meetings with R. Reagan, held regularly from 1985. The former U.S. president refused to admit his country's guilt in relation to half of the "acid rain" which falls on Canadian territory and was reluctant to take real measures to rectify the situation. As a result the Canadians today are left with a sad outcome: In eastern regions of Ontario Province alone harmful rain has affected more than 1 million square kilometers, and 50 percent of the forests and hundreds of lakes are in jeopardy.

The Canadian Government enthusiastically welcomed G. Bush's promise to begin combating air pollution. However, the sides failed to agree during the Ottawa talks on specific times or sizes of reductions in harmful industrial discharges into the atmosphere. The only definite advice G. Bush could give to journalists who wanted a clear answer to the question of the struggle against "acid precipitation" was this: Await news from Washington.

G. Bush and B. Mulroney devoted great attention to a discussion of East-West relations. Your correspondent talked with a high-ranking Canadian spokesman, who asked me not to mention his name, about the nature of that discussion. The Bush administration, he said, is now at the stage of studying all aspects of this problem and is determining its position. At the same time, my interlocutor pointed out, G. Bush does not want to be hasty in questions of East-West relations and is seeking to thoroughly weigh all the available options before advancing any new ideas or proposals....

It is, of course, possible to accept the official's so cautious assessment of the prospects for the new administration's activity in the international arena. But the representatives of Ottawa's peace-loving organizations who gathered not far from Bush's residence have a different viewpoint. Their slogans and banners clearly defined the items on the agenda that the demonstrators believe should be resolved without delay: "End U.S. cruise missile tests in the north of Canada!" "We favor the immediate simultaneous disbandment of NATO and the Warsaw Pact!" "Money for butter, not guns!" "End the nuclear threat!"

A string of black limousines, one carrying G. Bush and B. Mulroney, headed for the airport. The lightning visit was over. The motorcade was conducted through the streets so that the demonstrators could not be seen from the car windows. The main figures in this debut never caught sight of the peace champions' banners.

Baker Consultations With NATO Allies Viewed

PM1402144989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 89 First Edition pp 1, 5

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments From Abroad": "Trip to Allies"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has set out on his first foreign trip. The route he is following is, without any exaggeration, a long one. After visiting Canada he hopped across the Atlantic to Europe, where he has already begun talks in the capitals of a number of NATO states.

Great significance is being attached to Baker's trip: It is intended both to build "personal bridges of mutual understanding" with the leaders of allied states and (and this is the main thing) to obtain first-hand information on the feelings in the North Atlantic bloc regarding Soviet foreign policy initiatives. On the banks of the Potomac exceptional significance is being attached to the latter because, by all the generally recognized criteria, the new administration is manifestly unable to boast clear ideas or a specific agenda which would predetermine the priority of tasks in the sphere of USSR-U.S. relations. Moreover, as statements by representatives of the presidential entourage and Baker himself indicate, confusion—a confusion which is, incidentally, perfectly explicable—reigns at the highest echelons of American power. On the one hand, the new administration is bound, as it were, by the Reagan legacy. On the other, the George Bush administration would like to emerge from its predecessors' shadow and make a bid for independence in its approaches to the solution of the most pressing problems of our time.

Judging by all that you hear here now, the process of the "search for its own identity" is creaking. The lack of well-oiled coordination of public positions is producing contradictory statements by administration officials who are pulling in different directions, as it were. While National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and Secretary of State Baker do not consider the cold war over and impute "hostile intent" to the Soviet Union, President Bush expresses himself more delicately, preferring to eschew such categorical judgments. In other words, you get the impression that the administration sometimes speaks several different languages simultaneously. Theoretically, the Baker trip should end such ambiguity if one takes as a guideline Bush's promise to take account of U.S. allies' opinions. As Washington political observers note, America's NATO partners will tell the secretary of state that they expect the administration to continue the Reagan course of achieving agreements with the USSR on nuclear arms cuts.

A clear desire on the part of European countries to establish extensive mutually beneficial trade with the Soviet Union has been perceptible of late. Sluggish thinking still prevails in this regard in Washington, which is causing marked disgruntlement on the old continent. A whole series of NATO countries, including Britain, is insistently urging the United States to revise its outmoded position and start removing restrictions on the commercial exchange of advanced technology.

This does not mean, however, that Baker's trip will be devoid of pressure from the American side. It may be supposed that the Washington envoy will seek to secure bloc unanimity on the question of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons, on which the United States is insisting. One American newspaper has even written that a "precise" attempt will be made to twist the arm of Bonn, which will have to bear the burden of this dangerous spiral in the arms race and which is, understandably, not showing "appropriate enthusiasm."

Washington hopes that Baker's consultations in NATO countries will enable conclusions to be drawn that will play an important role in President Bush's announced analysis of the foreign policy and military concepts and guidelines that have operated hitherto. The question is what kind of conclusions he will be bringing back to Washington.

U.S. Defense Budget Plans Cause 'Alarm'

LD1502020689 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Analysts say it will take no less than 3 months to see the new administration's policy at arms reduction talks in action. To draw up plans for arms spending, far less time has proved enough. Congress has been asked to endorse a 1-year freeze on the real growth of the defense budget, 1-percent real growth for 1991 and 1992, and a 2-percent real growth for the 1993 fiscal year. Since the White House draft provides for a freeze on next year's military spending, it will be 2.6 billion below the defense budget proposed by former President Reagan. Some people have been saying that the administration has proposed changing the direction of the U.S. budget by moving money from the military to social programs. Senator Jim Sasser, chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, has said the Bush administration has signaled an end to the defense building and has indicated they are willing to flow some defense expenditures into meeting domestic needs like education.

However, the real picture seems to be different. The Pentagon budget is going to remain at the high level of the eighties when it beat all peacetime records. The United States has, over the past 8 years, spent 2 trillion, 200 billion dollars on military programs. This figure reflected a policy of confrontation and military rivalry. Incidentally, this country, too, was affected by the policy. However, in the course of renewal certain changes have been made in that sphere. Soviet foreign policy has been cleared of many dogmatic attitudes, including the desire to catch up with the American arms system. We see the INF Treaty and other agreements between the

Soviet Union and the United States as the first moves that will finally put an end to the arms race. These moves should be followed by other still more significant agreements at the forthcoming talks in Vienna, Stockholm, and Geneva. To facilitate further progress the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies will this year and next considerably (?reduce) their armed forces and arms and also military spending. They will do so unilaterally. The Soviet Union will cut its military budget by 14.2 percent and arms manufacturing by 20 percent. As we take such moves we cannot but keep a watch on what the other side has been doing. The news that despite a new climate in the world scene and Soviet-American relations, Washington is going to keep the arms budget at the highest ever level and even increase it in several years has prompted quite a few questions here in the Soviet Union. A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman at yesterday's briefing in Moscow said the United States' budget plans were bound to cause alarm.

U.S. Foreign Policy Signals 'Ambiguous'

PM1502094589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by international observer Aleksandr Golts under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "A Difficult Climb"]

[Text] A news report came out of the U.S. capital a few days ago: Mountain climbers from the USSR, the United States, and the PRC will attempt a joint climb of Everest, the world's highest mountain peak, in the spring of 1990. This event has been given the name "International Climb in the Name of Peace." There is no question that sportsmen from the three countries have taken on a difficult task.

However, many more difficulties must be overcome by those who will participate in a process which could, with full justification, be called a "climb in the name of peace." What I have in mind is a political process whose objective is quite clearly defined in Moscow, Beijing, and Washington—to reach the highest possible level of security for the peoples of these countries and for the whole world. As a matter of fact, China and the USSR have already set out this year, as is evidenced by the results of the USSR foreign minister's visit to the PRC, during which the time and agenda for M.S. Gorbachev's visit to China were determined.

If the truth be told, Washington has for the present taken a time-out in diplomatic activity. This is understandable. There has just been a change of leadership in the U.S. capital. A redistribution of functions in individual departments is under way there. Thus, under a presidential directive reported by the U.S. press, the reorganized National Security Council will henceforth play a more prominent role in decisionmaking in the foreign and military policy sphere.

Nevertheless, despite the pause, the initial statements have already been made. They leave contradictory feelings in their wake. Over the last few days President G. Bush has said on several occasions that his administration faces quite a lengthy period of studying and analyzing Soviet-U.S. relations. Moreover, it was emphasized on every occasion that this does not in any way indicate any desire to procrastinate on Washington's part. "I do not wish to miss any opportunity," the President claims, "but I do not wish to take any rash steps, either."

On the face of it, such an approach gives rise to no doubts at all. Indeed, is there any matter in world politics more complex than mutual relations between the USSR and the United States? This package comprises problems in the disarmament, economic, cultural, and many other spheres. Of course, anyone wishing to give a fresh boost to these relations must thoroughly analyze them. But there is something else that prompts wariness: The pause in foreign policy does not in any way extend to the implementation of numerous military programs.

The current administration has, to all intents and purposes, embarked on their implementation. Evidence of this can be seen in the draft budget for fiscal 1990 submitted to Congress by the President a few days ago. Frankly speaking, the Washington leaders had a complex task to resolve when drafting it. On the one hand, they were in a way hostages to the Reagan team. Contracts for the production and development of new weapon systems were signed in previous years. On the other hand, however, pressure is being exerted by the budget deficit. Consequently, the draft military budget proposed freezing military expenditures at the current fiscal year's level but with allowance for inflation. This will amount to more than $800 billion.

At this point, the question evolves from a financial into a political one. After all, whether Washington wishes so or not, the orientation of military policy will to a certain extent be shaped by the material resources placed at the Pentagon's disposal. What specifically is at issue?

First and foremost, the production of latest B-2 strategic bombers, manufactured using "Stealth" technology. The makers of this combat aircraft calculate that it will be capable of flying undetected through enemy air defense systems. It is designed to deliver a nuclear strike against missile silos and command centers. There will be simultaneous development of the MX ICBM deployment project and production of "Trident-2" submarine missiles.

There is also continuing funding for the Reagan team's favorite brainchild—the SDI program. But people in Washington are now no longer embarrassed to say that SDI will not be capable of providing an impenetrable antimissile shield above the United States. The tasks are now being formulated more modestly, more realistically, and... more aggressively. "Our strategic defense systems," J. Tower, nominated as secretary of defense by

Bush but yet to be confirmed by Congress, declared at the Senate hearings, "must be part of a single whole, together with offensive arms." It is thus already openly admitted that SDI is designed to strengthen the U.S. nuclear potential and not at all to eliminate it.

The Navy's development also remains a priority. In the opinion of Pentagon strategists, the Navy's numerical strength is due to increase over the next 8 years from 565 to 570-580 warships. It is indicative that, according to U.S. press reports, there are plans to increase the number of "Tomahawk" sea-launched cruise missiles, capable of delivering nuclear combat charges, to 400 by 1991.

I would like to point out that, in this case, we are not talking about some noninterlinked arms programs. These are the arms which were initially planned as the material basis for the "competitive strategies" developed by the Pentagon over the last few years. These strategies set the objective of gaining superiority over the USSR through the use of the latest technologies. Look at what is happening: In parallel with analyzing Soviet-U.S. relations, the Bush administration is drawing up a military budget which is literally "pushing" it into the implementation of a frankly confrontational strategy. A strategy which obviously relies on the latest technology and the old political thinking.

Perhaps the most blatant and pointless intention is that of financing the development of fundamentally new varieties of toxic combat substances capable of penetrating gas masks and protective clothing. This is happening at a time when the administration repeatedly declares its desire to conclude a convention on the complete banning of chemical weapons.

Meanwhile, growing numbers of people in the United States itself realize what these military programs actually mean for the American people. "New U.S. Weapons Diminish Americans' Security"—that was the subhead used by TIME magazine in an article dealing with the frankly destabilizing nature of SDI, the B-2 bombers, sea-launched cruise missiles, and other types of arms. So far, however, these voices have not been heeded all that much.

In this situation, one begins to pay more attention when reading the initial statements by U.S. Administration leaders; one discovers, to one's amazement, that they raise matters which we have already left behind. Secretary of State J. Baker, for example, declared in an interview with that same TIME magazine: "The Soviet Union remains, as before, a well-armed power with interests hostile to the United States." Here is what Lieutenant General B. Scowcroft, assistant to the President for national security affairs (who actually will be one of the key figures in decisionmaking), had to say on a television program: "The cold war is not yet over." Can this statement really be the initial consequence of "in-depth analysis?" One would still like to believe that it is rather the effect of confrontational inertia.

But forces bent on wrecking the process of detente which has only just started are clearly trying to take advantage of such a contradictory situation. The extreme right-wing WASHINGTON TIMES assures its readers that the USSR is carrying on production of bacteriological weapons and fails to observe the commitments it gave under the INF Treaty.

It cannot be denied that the situation in Washington today is ambiguous. We do not know everything about the intentions and views of the members of the team with which we have to jointly surmount the accretions of confrontation and the glaciers of suspicion. The main point—in contrast to the mountain climbers—is that this is not a case of being able to change partners or postpone the climb. After all, the objective of Soviet-U.S. relations is much more important than just an athletic record. The guiding star here will be a clearly expressed desire to cure mankind of a serious disease whose metastases have spread everywhere—to the economy, politics, ideology, science, and culture—the disease known as superarmaments and reliance on strength.

Our country actually has a strategy for curing this disease. "The Soviet peace policy is driven by a logic of development based on realism and a balance of the interests of the sides and of all members of the world community," Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, emphasized in an article recently published by PRAVDA. "Resolute replacement of confrontation with cooperation, the de-ideologization of international relations, and the freeing of these relations from the heavy burden of the 'enemy image' are now on the agenda." Let us hope that, despite all the complexities, this view will affirm itself everywhere.

Dobrynin, Zagladin Receive U.S. Businessman

LD1402152689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1458 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (TASS)—Anatoliy Dobrynin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, and Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union, today met with Edgar Bronfman, a representative of U.S. business circles, head of the "Seagram" Corporation, and president of the World Jewish Congress.

An exchange of views took place on questions of Soviet-U.S. relations and the general state of affairs in the world, including the situation in the Middle East.

Meeting Discusses Counterterrorism Cooperation

PM1402160189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with John Marks, director of the "Search for Common Ground" organization, by M. Yusin in Moscow under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Interview": "USSR-U.S.: Together Against Terrorism"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A meeting between representatives of the Soviet and American public under the heading "The Soviet-American Response to International Terrorism" has

been held in Moscow. Our interlocutor is John Marks, executive director of the "Search for Common Ground" organization and the initiator of the meeting on the U.S. side.

[Yusin] When did the idea for this meeting arise, and whose idea was it?

[Marks] A representative delegation of around 100 people from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace visited Washington a year ago. During the visit it was decided to set up a Soviet-U.S. working group charged with preparing for the current meeting in Moscow. Its organizers were "Search for Common Ground," LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and the Committee for the Defense of Peace.

[Yusin] What, in your view, has promoted the rapprochement of Soviet and U.S. positions on the question of combating terrorism?

[Marks] Above all, the Soviet leadership's foreign policy course. General Secretary M. Gorbachev, in an important speech, has called for terrorism to be rebuffed. As far as I am aware, your country's previous leaders tried to avoid this subject altogether. For a long time it was thought in the Soviet Union that hijackings, kidnappings, and assassinations of diplomats only existed in the West. But today you are ready to look the truth in the face. The fact is that the USSR is number five on the list of countries that are targets for terrorist acts. As is well known, the United States has long been at the top of this list.

[Yusin] You referred to serious dissension.... About what?

[Marks] There have been many arguments about the term to be used—how are terrorists to be described? There are many examples of certain organizations being respectfully referred to as "national liberation" organizations in Moscow, while Washington calls them nothing but "terrorists."

But ultimately we seem to have been able to find common ground on this issue. Both the Soviet and U.S. sides have agreed that any act of terrorism is a crime and should be condemned, regardless of the motives professed by its organizers. No "just goal" can justify hijackings, kidnappings, or the bombing of entirely innocent people.

[Yusin] What about when Palestinians in the occupied territories throw rocks at Israeli soldiers—is that terrorism or not, in your opinion?

[Marks] Such actions are often called terrorism in Israel. There is no agreed upon view in the United States. If you want my opinion, I don't think this is terrorism.

[Yusin] Did the meeting discuss specific terrorist groups or did you mainly deal with general problems?

[Marks] As a rule we did not get into specifics. The discussion participants simply did not have the time to discuss individual terrorist groups. I think we will be able to discuss these issues during the next meeting scheduled for this August in the United States.

I think we should pay attention to yet another important aspect: how to act with respect to countries that support terrorists. I think that if irrefutable proof is adduced that certain states have been supporting terrorists, the USSR or the United States could take certain measures against those countries, up to and including economic and political sanctions. Even if it means doing this against allies.

[Yusin] Could you cite any examples of our countries having successfully cooperated to combat terrorists?

[Marks] Unfortunately, I cannot recall a single example. Such cooperation was hardly possible in the past. After all, the Americans have often accused the Russians and the Russians have accused the Americans of all kinds of terrible goings-on, including the promoting of terrorism. The situation has only started changing in recent years. Take the following hopeful news, for instance: The press has reported that a KGB representative has promised to give the U.S. authorities every assistance in seeking the criminals who blew up the Boeing airliner over Scotland last December.

[Yusin] What, in your opinion, prevented our countries from cooperating effectively in the fight against terrorism?

[Marks] Distrust, skepticism, old entrenched stereotypes. We have to overcome our mutual-distrust complex, hostility, and alienation.

[Yusin] One last question: What were the specific results of the Moscow meeting?

[Marks] Above all, we set up a Soviet-U.S. association that will deal with the problems of preventing and fighting terrorism. Furthermore, the meeting participants drew up a list of recommendations for our countries' governments. This covers a whole range of measures whose implementation would, in our view, erect a reliable barrier to international terrorism.

U.S. Response to Abalkin Remarks Viewed

PM0802165589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 p 1

[Editorial item: "Is 'Voice of America' To Be Believed?..."; for the text of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's interview with Abalkin referred to in last paragraph, see page 62 of the 13 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] "Voice of America" reports that THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE WASHINGTON POST, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, and other newspapers have

carried reports by their correspondents on the Moscow news conference of L. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics.

Abalkin agreed with Western economists' estimates of the size of the USSR budget deficit, which totaled R100 billion in 1988 and not R36 billion, as USSR Finance Minister B. Gostev pointed out.

THE WASHINGTON POST cites the economist E. Hewett: "Abalkin's remarks are heard to prepare people for the fact that they will have to tighten their belts for a long time. He is telling people that they must take a sober look at things."

In the nineties the Soviet leadership will have to think about what socialism is and what ownership under socialist conditions is.

Replying to a question about his view of L. Abalkin's remark that a tangible improvement in the USSR's economic position will come no earlier than 1995, Professor M. Goldman, a U.S. specialist on the USSR national economy, said in an interview for "Voice of America": "I must agree with that assessment. In actual fact there has been a deterioration in the economic situation."

A decree banning many kinds of cooperative activity was published recently, but this is a false prescription for treating an economic ailment.

Abalkin says that one possible solution is not to close factories but to turn them into cooperatives.

Restructuring will be a painful process, and the more painful a process it is, the more protests it will provoke.

Read KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA

It is possible to disagree with the categoricalness that the Western economist "hears" in the Soviet economist's remarks. The crux of the matter lies elsewhere: What is "heard" is not now suppressed. However, in general, it is possible to obtain information today without radio intermediaries, at first hand....

Read Academician L.I. Abalkin's conversation with our observer on page 2.

Comparison of Commentary on Scowcroft Views

PM0802141989

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 8 February carries in its Second Edition on page 5 a commentary by Gennadiy Vasilyev on statements by U.S. National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. The Second Edition version, entitled "Voice Test," has been compared with the First Edition version published in the 8 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 16-17, revealing the following variations:

Page 16, column two, paragraph four, from line four reads in PRAVDA Second Edition: ...it, are making statements which are... (deleting "loose")

Same paragraph, from line fourteen reads in PRAVDA Second Edition: ...European countries too, noticeably contradicts the mood... (substituting "noticeably" for "flagrantly")

China

Warming USSR-PRC Relations Benefit World Peace

OW1502095589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 14 Feb 89

[From the "Half an Hour With Wang Xiao" program]

[Text] Now let us discuss some pressing issues of Soviet-Sino relations. But first of all we would like to mention a milestone in the history of Soviet-Sino relations.

Thirty years [as heard] ago, on 14 February 1950, a treaty of friendship, alliance, and mutual assistance was signed in Moscow between the Soviet Union and China. On the first anniversary of the signing of the treaty, Mao Zedong, in his congratulatory cable to the Soviet leader, pointed out that the signing of the treaty was not only of the most immense help to the development of the New China, but also served as a powerful guarantee in the anti-aggression struggle for peace and security in the Far East and the rest of the world.

The Soviet-Sino Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance has fulfilled its literal, positive function. [words indistinct]. However, what concerns us now is not the past, but the status quo of Soviet-Sino relations and the new goals. Our station observer Mulatov writes:

What interests the world right now is the goals that will dictate the course of Soviet-Sino relations for decades to come. The general public and politicians in Asia and the rest of the world are seeking a firm grasp of the new path that the Soviet Union and China will take in pursuing their bilateral relations now that they have ended the period of mutual distrust and tension.

Quoting Deng Xiaoping, "Let bygones be bygones, and let us make our future together" will be the predominant goal of the Soviet-Sino summit meeting. Comrade Mikhail S. Gorbachev's coming visit to China in mid-May and the Soviet-Sino summit meeting undoubtedly will be of decisive, historic significance, not only in wrapping up the normalization of their bilateral relations but also in forging new relations between the two socialist giants.

What impact will the normalization of Soviet-Sino relations have on the future course of Asia and the world? This is now the subject of heated discussions in the East as well as in the West. Last weekend the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a special press briefing

on the normalization of Soviet-Sino relations. Politicians in both the East and West hold that the new possibilities of Soviet-Sino cooperation will not only bring immense benefits to the two countries themselves, but also boost peace and stability in Asia and the world. This is what our two countries have been striving for.

Dear listeners, we are now on the threshold of a new stage of more mature relations between our two countries. The Bandung principle for peaceful coexistence and equality and mutual benefit will be the solid foundation for these relations. The Soviet Union and China—two socialist giants—can contribute immensely to building a brave future for people of both countries and mankind. The Soviet-Sino summit meeting will open up broad prospects for that.

New PRC-USSR 'Goodwill' Good for Socialism

OW1502095989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 11 Feb 89

[From the "Current Events and Music" program]

[Text] Results of Soviet Foreign Minister Shavardnadze's visit to Beijing and Shanghai are still the major topic of Soviet press articles about China. Soviet historian (Bazhenov) contributed an article to NOVOYE VREMYA in which he pointed out that today our two socialist neighboring countries are cooperating with each other in an effort to completely normalize relations. However, the process of Moscow and Beijing getting closer to each other is a hard and tortuous one. The two countries have drawn experiences from history, tried to solve various problems, and gradually learned to respect each other's dissident views. As a result, they have laid a foundation for restoring their neighborly and mutually beneficial relations.

(Bazhenov) asked in his article: Is this foundation firm? What is it based on? Is it based on goodwill? He answered: Undoubtedly, leaders of the two countries are determined to turn a new page in bilateral relations. Without their determination, there would be nothing to talk about regarding the foundation for normalizing relations. However, goodwill does not come from nothing; it is created from objective conditions and needs.

How is the current situation? (Bazhenov) said: First of all, both sides hope to ensure peace on their borders and to promote economic cooperation. Both Moscow and Beijing maintain that it is necessary to inject new vitality into socialism in order to enable it to free itself from the state of (?deformity) and renew itself. The center points of our two countries' foreign policies are identical. This has a favorable impact on completely normalizing relations between the two countries.

Sinologist Reviews Soviet-Chinese Ties

PM1402165489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 7, 12 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Sergey Goncharov, Cand. Sc. (History) and head of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute's Soviet-Chinese relations section: "Applying Today's Yardsticks"]

[Text] The proposed Soviet-Chinese summit is a real breakthrough in bilateral relations, as is the agenda of the summit at which "the foundation of Soviet-Chinese relations of a new type will be formulated".

The legitimate question arises: What has necessitated the shaping of a new type of relation and what will it be?

From my viewpoint, one of the main reasons is the reassessment in the Soviet Union and China of the realities of modern world and the strategic tasks facing both countries. For a long time, thinking in both the USSR and China proceeded from the fact that since we are building a new society with set laws of social development, there existed every opportunity for a sharp acceleration of this development. Thus we saw shaping the "Great Leap Forward" in China and, in Moscow, at the 22nd CPSU Congress, the task of "building communist society by the present generation". The firm conviction of the leaders of both countries was that capitalism is going through an ever-deepening crisis, that it will reach the end of its rope, prompting forecasts that the world-wide victory of a new society is not far off. Each side believed at that time that it alone had the right to the absolute truth, that it alone knew the true road along which humankind could achieve the bright future. This is what led to ideological and strategic conflicts between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

Practice has shown that the Soviet Union and China assessed the prospects of their own development overoptimistically, and looked too pessimistically at the future of capitalism. "The Cultural Revolution" in China and the "stagnation period" in the USSR have caused serious damage to both countries and to their prestige. Meanwhile, the capitalist world succeeded in dominating the new stage of the scientific and technological revolution, and in utilizing many of its achievements to its own benefit.

The leaders in Beijing and in Moscow are now faced with the urgent task of carrying out profound transformations in the economy and politics so as not to lag behind the accelerating developments in science and technology which determine one's status in the international arena. All this has led Moscow and Beijing to a profound reappraisal of their positions. Now the Soviet Union and China no longer consider it to be their basic strategic task to transform the modern world in a historically limited time according to their understanding. The leaders of the two countries are now striving to provide their states

with the most favourable conditions for development under existing conditions. This is the main aim of Soviet and Chinese foreign policies, and of Soviet-Chinese relations.

This manifests itself in the fact that the USSR and China strive to improve their international situation within the framework of the existing alignment of world forces, but not at the expense of the other. This would lead to the aggravation of the international situation, to the worsening of conditions for the socioeconomic development of each country. This consideration serves as a basis for the conclusion that in the future Soviet-Chinese relations won't return to the military and political alliance of the 1950s, will not be directed against any third country, but will be built on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Both our countries are interested in a peaceful and stable international atmosphere in which to carry out reforms and are trying to remove the negative factors from their relations. These aims are also pursued by the efforts of both sides for the settlement of the Kampuchean problem, forthcoming negotiations on reducing military confrontation in neighbouring regions, and the successful continuation of border talks.

The Soviet Union and China are interested in realizing to the maximum the potential of mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres, above all in economy, science and technology. Of great importance is the exchange of experience with reforms in both countries, because the prestige of socialism in the 21st century depends on their successes here.

All these considerations, in my opinion, create a basis for shaping a new type of relations between the two major socialist states.

USSR Scientists' Visit Part of Improving Ties

LD1102172189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Here is a report by Albert Papayan, our correspondent, about the Beijing visit of a Soviet scientific delegation headed by Marchuk, USSR Academy of Sciences president. The delegation went there to sign agreements on scientific-technical cooperation over the next 10 years. Here is Papayan speaking from the Chinese capital:

[Papayan] In reporting this visit the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, the CPC Central Committee organ, BEIJING RIBAO, and other Chinese newspapers note that it is the first such high-ranking delegation of scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences to visit China in the past 30 years.

The meeting of leading scientists of the Soviet Union and China is an important event in the relations between the two countries. It testifies, first and foremost, to a mutual desire for economic and scientific-technical cooperation, to a mutual interest in experience in socialist construction. The meeting of prominent scientists of the Soviet Union and China also testifies undoubtedly to the continuing dynamic development of the relations between the two countries. Contacts and ties are being realized today in practically all spheres of interstate communication. Mutually beneficial national economic ties are acquiring a stable character. The number of installations involving economic and technical cooperation is increasing.

The recent official visit to China by Eduard Ambrosiyevich Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, USSR foreign affairs minister, was a significant event in Soviet-Chinese relations. The official visit to the PRC by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, on 15-18 May this year will give a mighty impetus to Soviet-Chinese relations. It is the opinion of both sides that the upcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting means full normalization of relations between the USSR and PRC.

Amur River Cooperation With PRC Viewed

OW1202115689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Announcer-read report on interview with Polad-Zade, chairman of the Soviet side of the Soviet-Chinese commission on the utilization of the Ergun and Amur rivers border section, by unidentified station reporter; speakers identified throughout by brief voice recording in Russian, fading into announcer speaking in Mandarin]

[Text] We would like to talk about the development of Soviet-Chinese cooperation in all spheres. Recently this cooperation has been developing extensively and in an all-around way. Today, we wish to dwell on an important aspect: The question of the Soviet Union and China jointly utilizing the rich resources of the Amur River. This task is overseen by the Soviet-Chinese Planning and Guiding Commission on the Comprehensive Utilization of the Ergun and Amur Rivers Border Section.

The commission held its third meeting in Beijing at the end of last January. This reporter interviewed Polad-Zade, chairman of the Soviet side of the commission, who briefed all reporters on the commission's achievements.

This reporter said: [reporter heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into announcer speaking in Mandarin] Comrade Polad-Zade, earlier I read a commission report that was approved at the Beijing meeting. In my opinion, the report analyzes water conservancy and the topographical situation of the Amur River in detail and affirmed the basic position on building the Qiji hydroelectric station and protecting residential areas and farmland from floods. The report also thoroughly inquires into the issue of protecting and increasing the Amur River's fish resources and notes measures to improve conditions for the river to open to navigation. How was that detailed document prepared?

Polad-Zade said: [Polad-Zade heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into announcer speaking in Mandarin] This was indeed an important job. To my recollection, the Soviet and Chinese experts who completed this job included those from Changchun, who should be particularly commended. The report took them over 2 years, which is a very short period, but they studied and discussed a variety of plans for this work.

[Reporter] There must have been disputes and times when they had different points of view.

[Polad-Zade] Of course. It was very natural that they had different opinions about some issues. It would be amazing if everything had gone smoothly. After exerting common efforts and showing sufficient grounds, they studied and discussed and finally drew up a constructive plan.

[Reporter] Please explain, citing a specific example.

[Polad-Zade] Though we had different views, we finally found a plan for an important joint project that was acceptable to both countries: building a hydroelectric station. Naturally, each side wanted to pick a location for the station that was most favorable to its own country. In this connection, the Soviet side adopted a constructive stand, and gradually both sides came to share similar views, and finally the same view. Finally, we found a place on the Amur River that we felt satisfied with, and to which the Chinese comrades also agreed.

[Reporter] What benefits can this project bring to the two countries?

[Polad-Zade] If a joint key water conservancy project is built, millions of kilowatt-hours will be generated. As we all know, China, particularly North China, is in want of electricity. This is a very acute problem. When this large hydroelectric station is built, electric power will be inexpensive and the development of this part of China will be greatly promoted. This station will also be significant because it will provide supplementary power for our Far East region's electric power system. Such a power station would produce very great economic results. If we build reservoirs on the Amur, low-lying farmland will no longer be submerged by floods, and huge sums of money can be saved. Both countries can use the funds saved to build dikes and dams against floods. All this would be tremendously significant for both our country and our Chinese friends.

PRC Freight Convoy Arrives in Leninskoye

LD1402120889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] A convoy of vehicles carrying freight from the People's Republic of China arrived today at the frontier village of Leninskoye in Khabarovskiy Kray. Here on the banks of the Amur, the opening ceremony of the winter crossing between the two states was held. Under a treaty on border trade, around 50 vehicles will be working daily on the ice track between the Soviet Union and China. The first run from China has delivered citrus fruits, fresh apples, and other products. The Chinese drivers took frozen fish back with them. In the summer, it is the river workers of both countries who will assume concern for freight deliveries.

Northeast Asia

Decision on Withdrawing Troops From Mongolia Noted

Involves 'Considerable' Withdrawal

LD1302151889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1343 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 13 Feb (TASS)—On Monday, J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, received I.A. Rogachev, deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs, who is paying a working visit here.

During the talks, several key international problems and a number of questions of Soviet-Mongolian relations were examined.

Both sides pointed out the huge potential for economic cooperation between the USSR and MPR, and underlined the importance of enhancing the effectiveness of, and further improving the forms and mechanisms of this cooperation.

The Soviet representative briefed J. Batmonh on the latest steps taken by the USSR to improve the political climate in the world, further relax tensions, and unblock regional conflicts. During an exchange of opinions on problems of peace and security in the Asia and Pacific region, particular attention was given to the development of mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other states of the continent, and the prospects for resolving the Cambodian problem and settling the situation around Afghanistan.

J. Batmonh stressed that the overall improvement in the international situation, the strengthening of trust and mutual understanding between East and West, and the positive changes in the settlement of regional conflicts are a direct result of the new political thinking that is asserting itself increasingly in international affairs. The Mongolian leader placed a high assessment on the new large-scale peace initiatives that M.S. Gorbachev put forward at the 43d United Nations General Assembly session.

J. Batmonh expressed satisfaction with the accord that has been reached on holding a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. The normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC corresponds not only with the interests of the peoples of these countries, but also with the cause of peace and security in Asia and throughout

the world. The MPR welcomes the continuation of the dialogue between the Khmer sides and the jointly expressed readiness of the Soviet Union and China to promote a speedy and just solution to the Cambodian problem.

Dealing with Afghanistan, J. Batmonh stated that a peaceful settlement of the situation surrounding that country does not amount just to the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops. It is very important now for the other participants in the Geneva agreements to give all manner of assistance to the establishment of peace and tranquility on Afghan soil and to securing Afghanistan's status as an independent, nonaligned, and neutral state.

It was stressed in the conversation that the new decision by the governments of the USSR and the MPR on the withdrawal of a considerable part of the Soviet troops from Mongolian territory reflects their sincere desire to promote positive changes in Asia by practical deeds.

L. Rinchin, head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee of the MPRP; Ts. Gombosuren, minister of foreign affairs of the MPR; and V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador in the MPR, took part in the conversation, which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

The signing of plans for cooperation and interaction between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the MPR took place in Ulaanbaatar on the same day.

Mongolia Reports 'New Decision'

OW1402140689 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] On Monday, Mongolian party leader and President Batmonh received the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union Mr Rogachev, currently on a working visit to Mongolia. The two men considered a number of key international issues and the questions of Mongolia-Soviet relations. The sides pointed to the existence of non-exploitation [as heard] in the Mongolia-Soviet economic cooperation and underlined the importance of enhancing the efficiency and perfecting the foreign affairs mechanism of this cooperation.

The Soviet minister informed Batmonh of the new moves undertaken by the Soviet Union at normalizing the global political climate, deepening the process of detente, and settling regional conflicts. During the exchange of views on the problems of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, particular attention was given to the development of relations of the Soviet Union with the People's Republic of China and other countries in the continent, the prospects of resolving the Kampuchea problem, and settling the situation around Afghanistan.

The Mongolian leader underlined that the overall normalization of the international situation, consolidation of trust and mutual understanding between East and West, and the positive (?shifts) for settling regional conflicts are a direct outcome of the new political thinking which increasingly sets itself in international relations.

Batmonh gave a high appraisal of the new large-scale peace initiatives advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session. The Mongolian leader voiced satisfaction over the understanding reached for holding a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. The normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China meets the interests not only of those two countries, but also the cause of peace and security in Asia and the entire world. Mongolia hails the continuation of the dialogue between the Khmer sides and the readiness of the Soviet Union and China, expressed jointly, to facilitate the soonest and just solution of the Kampuchean problem.

Regarding Afghanistan, the Mongolian leader said that a peaceful settlement of the situation around that country is not merely a total withdrawal of Soviet troops, but vitally important now that the other signatories of the Geneva Accord render all possible contribution to establishment of peace and tranquility on the Afghan land and to the insurance of Afghanistan's status as an independent, nonaligned, and neutral state.

During the meeting it was underlined that the new decision of the governments of Mongolia and the Soviet Union on withdrawal of significant part of Soviet troops from the Mongolian territory mirrors their sincere strivings to facilitate through practical deeds the process of changes in Asia. [Words indistinct] to contribute to strengthening peace, trust, and mutual understanding among nations in the region.

Mongolian Communications Minister Interviewed

LD1302205689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A network of radio relay lines is being set up in Mongolia. Correspondent T. Lordkipanidze reports:

A ramified network of radio relay lines is being set up in Mongolia. The steel masts of the radio relay lines stretch 500 kilometers from Ulaanbaatar to Buyant-Uhaa, the capital of Dornogovi Aymag. [video shows a radio tower] This year's first major project was handed over by our country as a gift to the Mongolian People's Republic, so that now people in Buyant-Uhaa; railway workers of Choyr, (Ayran), and Ulaan-Uul; and miners in (Burundur) can watch national television.

In an interview, Mongolian Communications Minister Irbudziyn Norobjab said that the network and the television-radio complex enables Mongolian Television to

have 4 channels, and to double the volume of broadcasts from 1,500 to 3,000 hours a year. It also makes it possible to maintain continual teletype communications between major towns and centers in Mongolia, and also with Moscow, Beijing, and Berlin. He said that we can phone direct to Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland, and—via Moscow—to Delhi, New York, and Paris. [video shows telephone and teletype operators]

Pylons are being built in the Gobi Desert and mountains. Another radio relay line of 480 kilometers will link the Central and South Gobi Aymags.

*Hyundai Chairman's Trip to DPRK Viewed

WA1807011289 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Ye. Piskunov: "A Step Toward Meeting Halfway"]

[Text] Soviet and foreign journalists knew as early as the middle of January about the trip to Pyongyang being planned by the chairman of the South Korean Hyundai Corporation Chong Chu-yong. Then, while in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Chamber of Commerce, he shared his own plans. Having noted, to be sure, that this information was still purely confidential, "not for the press," he asked that it not be released prematurely.

And here his visit to the DPRK, the first official visit here by a businessman from Seoul, became another landmark in the interrelations between the northern and southern parts of the peninsula. While he was in Pyongyang the chairman of Hyundai was received by Ho Tam, a member of the Politburo, secretary of the KWP CC, and chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Unification of the Homeland, and he visited a number of large industrial enterprises and construction projects of the DPRK.

What was the essence of his proposals for the development of economic cooperation between North and South Korea?

Chong Chu-yong, having informed representatives of the DPRK of his visit to the Soviet Union and his intention of cooperating with the USSR in the assimilation of Siberia and the Far East, suggested that the DPRK participate in the forthcoming work.

During the course of Chong Chu-yong's visit to Pyongyang they reached an agreement on the participation of the Hyundai Corporation in the construction of certain facilities on the territory of the DPRK. In particular, as the KCNA agency reports, representatives of the DPRK and South Korea came to a fundamental agreement to apply joint efforts to transform the Kumgangsan region into a zone for international tourism. The famous Diamond Mountains are located here on the DPRK coast. The plans for the creation of a first class tourist center in Kumgangsan include the construction of a railroad, hotels, and highways.

Chong Chu-yong was still in Pyongyang when from Nampo, the largest port of the DPRK, there arrived in South Korea a cargo ship with 21,000 tons of coal on board. As the foreign mass media emphasize, this is the first time since 1945 that trade has opened up between the North and South of the Korean peninsula.

Chong Chu-yong's trip and the contacts made within its framework, notes the KCNA agency, showed that if an exchange of opinions were arranged between the parties, regardless of differences between ideologies and social systems, positive strides could be made in the national reconciliation, consolidation, and unification of the two Koreas.

Near East & South Asia

Government Statement Issued on Afghan Withdrawal

LD1502143689 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—The Soviet Government issued the following statement on Wednesday in connection with the completed Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan:

Acting in strict compliance with the Geneva Agreements, the USSR completed the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. There is not a single Soviet soldier left in that country.

When signing the Geneva Agreements, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan proceeded from the premise that the precise fulfillment of commitments under the agreements by all parties can and should provide a realiable basis for ending the protracted conflict between warring Afghan groups and help restore peace on Afghan soil and stabilise the situation in the region as a whole.

The constructive policy of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan created every possibility for terminating the bloodshed on Afghan soil and searching for mutually acceptable compromises taking into account the rightful interests of all the sides and parties involved in the conflict.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan put forward a programme for national reconciliation. It advocated Afghanistan's rebirth as a nonaligned and neutral state maintaining goodneighbourly relations with all countries. The Soviet Union treated these highly important initiatives with complete understanding and gave them support as a stable and thriving Afghanistan also meets our interests.

How the situation will shape in Afghanistan depends in many respects on whether the other parties to the Geneva Agreements follow the example of the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan and whether the armed opposition operating out of Pakistan and Iran shows a sense of responsibility, self-restraint and an ability to think not only in terms of violence. It is obvious today like never before that there isn't any need for the opposition, if it is not averse to rational thinking in principle, to force an open door by continuing the fratricide while the problems confronting the Afghan people can be solved at the negotiating table.

Whether the Afghan situation will develop along the lines of national accord and the creation of a broadly-based coalition government, as envisaged by the relevant resolution of the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly, or along the lines of escalating war and tension in and around the country depends to a large degree on those who have, over all these years, aided and abetted the armed opposition, supplying it with sophisticated weapons. The Soviet Union reiterates its proposal for an immediate ceasefire between the warring Afghan groups and a simultaneous end to arms shipments to Afghanistan by all countries, including the USSR and the United States.

It is quite clear that in present-day conditions, after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, special responsibility lies on Pakistan which should strictly observe its obligations under the Geneva agreements and prevent its territory from being used for the purposes of interference in Afghan domestic affairs.

The Soviet Union cannot ignore statements by individual representatives of the Pakistani leadership about the possibility of creating a Pakistan-Afghan confederation either. This kind of discourse is effectively aimed at directly infringing upon the sovereign rights of the Afghan people.

The United Nations with its rich experience of peacemaking in different regions has a large role to play in giving processes underway in Afghanistan a positive nature. Its programmes for economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan are its specific contribution to peacemaking in Afghanistan. It is important that the machinery for this aid gets into gear as soon as possible.

The refugee problem is a most serious one for Afghanistan. It worries all Afghans irrespective of their political views. But it cannot be solved without a ceasefire. Only after stopping the war will it be possible to tap the possibilities for the return of refugees, possibilities that are inherent in the Geneva agreements.

The Soviet Union is prepared to do everything in its power for Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation, to continue serving the interests of our peoples—both at this stage, facilitating a transition to a life of peace, and after the achievement of a comprehensive Afghan settlement. This readiness is also reflected in the Soviet Union's active involvement in multilateral aid to Afghanistan through UN channels.

Leaving Afghanistan by its own will and agreement with the Afghan leadership, the Soviet Union will continue promoting a peaceful and comprehensive Afghan settlement.

We hope that the Afghan people will opt for the path of peace and accord since this is the only way the bloodletting can be ended and calm restored on the ancient land of Afghanistan.

USSR Soldiers Complete Withdrawal From Afghanistan

'Last' Soldier Crosses Border

LD1502074389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0705 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan is being completed right now. From the border town of Termez our special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev reports:

[Begin Bezyayev recording] Literally 3 minutes ago, Lieutenant General Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops on the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan, reported that the last Soviet soldier had crossed the border bridge, and that their internationalist duty had been fulfilled with honor.

There they are, standing in front of us; the boys who are the last to leave that country. Two battalions: a reconnaissance battalion and airborne assault battalion left today. Everyone is wearing orders and medals and smiling with satisfaction. Many are still waiting to meet their relatives: Their mothers, friends, and comrades-in-arms are here. The dust-covered armored personnel carriers are silent; many of their guns have already been covered up. That is it: This war has come to an end. It is now difficult to describe the atmosphere here. Spring is only just beginning, while the meeting site has literally blossomed thanks to the abundance of flowers. Everyone is saying thank you; thank you to the boys for having fulfilled their duty, for having proven themselves as real sons of the motherland. Well, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops is complete. The meeting devoted to completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan has begun. [end recording]

Gromov Discusses Withdrawal

LD1502110289 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Termez (Soviet Union's southern border) February 15 TASS—by TASS correspondent Yelena Velichanskaya and Iskandr Khisamov:

Scientists, politicians and military experts will be vigorously debating the introduction of a limited number of Soviet troops into Afghanistan nine years ago following the request of the lawful Afghan Government and in keeping with an agreement between the two neighbouring countries, commander of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and Hero of the Soviet Union, General Boris Gromov said on his return to the USSR.

General Gromov was the last Soviet soldier to return home from Afghanistan. "Among many measures the simplest and the clearest is: This was our internationalist duty," Gromov told TASS. "Tens of thousands of men who served in Afghanistan are proud of being called internationalists. The Soviet people will always remember the 15,000 soldiers who perished in Afghanistan.

"Aside from the will of force, there is the force of will. Our will for peace and dialogue," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said recently on his visit to Islamabad. The Soviet and Afghan leaders showed such a will and this was an example of new political thinking. The Soviet Union is meticulously abiding by its Geneva commitments. This bears tangible results; after all, Soviet troops have returned home.

The entire international community is ready to support the Afghan people. First convoys of food and other necessities have been sent to Afghanistan by the United Nations. One of the convoys has been attacked by the mujahidin rebels.

Afghanistan continues receiving peace aid from the Soviet Union. Dozens of powerful "Ilyushin-76" transports are flying in Kabul daily bringing food and medicaments. Soviet cargoes are also being delivered by truck convoys.

Before leaving Afghanistan the Soviet troops had repaired a long-distance field fuel pipeline stretching almost to Kabul from the Soviet border. Garrisons with dwelling houses, medical institutions, equipment and bakeries were passed over to the Afghan people and its armed forces. All in all, nearly 150 schools, lycees, training schools and kindergartens, over 400 apartment blocks, 30 hospitals and 35 mosques, about 150 kilometres of irrigation networks and dozens of wells were built or restored by the Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

"We did not seek a military victory in Afghanistan," General of the Army Nikolay Popov, a spokesman for the Soviet Armed Forces Command, said in Termez. "Our soldiers have honourably fulfilled their task. For nine years they did not allow the rebels to do as they like on the soil of a friendly people. We are leaving Afghanistan after creating all the necesssary conditions for ending the bloodshed. Therefore, we can safely say that the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is a great victory of our policy of restructuring and new political thinking."

Gromov's Role, Achievements Viewed

LD1502082289 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Termez February 15 TASS—Forty-five year-old Boris Gromov, one of the most popular generals in the Soviet forces, was the last Soviet soldier to cross the bridge across the Amu Darya River at 0955 Moscow time. The commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops crossed the Soviet-Afghan border thus completing the withdrawal of all units from the Republic of Afghanistan. Maksim, Gromov's 14-year-old son, was among the welcoming party.

"This military leader is distinguished by a high sense of self-control and foresight", General of the Army Valentin Varennikov, a representative of the Soviet military command in the Republic of Afghanistan, said. "Boris served in Afghanistan three times. He held different posts and distinguished himself as a man with a high sense of duty, who works for the fulfillment of the tasks set with minimum losses".

"My father soldier Vsevolod Gromov died in the Second World War in the autumn of 1943, several months after my birth", General Gromov told TASS. "My mother Matryona Gromova, the soldier's widow, was left with three small orphans to care for. But she managed to bring up and educate all of them. My older brother Aleksey and myself became military men and my middle brother Sergey—an engineer".

General Gromov brilliantly graduated from the Kalinin Suvorov Military School and the All-Arms Command School in Leningrad. He has been a platoon, a company and battalion commander. He served in Afghanistan after his graduation with honours from the Mikhail Frunze Military Academy. In one of the battles, when rebels broke through to the command post, he courageously drew regimental artillery fire on himself, though he knew that the slightest inaccuracy could be fatal.

In 1984 he graduated with honours from the General Staff Academy and submitted a report requesting that he be sent back to Afghanistan. He was appointed commander there. The Hero of the Soviet Union title was conferred on General Gromov for his brilliant guidance of the operation to unblock the Gardeyz-Khowst highway.

"My two sons in the Soviet Union are looking forward to my return. Three years ago they became motherless. My wife, Natalya, lost her life in an aircrash in the Carpathians in 1985", said General Gromov.

Boris Gromov is a considerate father. Moreover, every soldier who served under his command in Afghanistan calls him "dad" informally.

General Gromov, who has just left Afghanistan, has already got a new posting—as commander of Kiev Military District troops.

Ceremony for Last Returning Soldiers

LD1502130189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan has been completed. A TASS correspondent reports from Termez:

Before a formation of internationalist troops, Lieutenant General Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet forces, today reported to Army General Popov, representative of the USSR Armed Forces' leadership, on the full completion of the withdrawal of our units and subunits from Afghanistan.

A festive meeting took place. Internationalist troops were greeted by Mamarasulov, first secretary of the Surkhan-Darya party obkom; Anishchev, second secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee; and (Ismailov), a veteran of the Great Patriotic War. A command from the USSR Minister of Defense was read out, awarding valuable gifts to all soldiers and officers who returned from Afghanistan today. In keeping with military ritual, during the handing-over of an award a serviceman comes out from a formation and comes up to the chief. On this occasion, they departed from the established order. Generals and representatives of the republic's leadership themselves went up to the formation to shake hands and present gifts to each soldier. Then, the subunits paraded past in formation. A salute was given.

Returning Soldiers Cite Experiences

PM1402184589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Morning Edition pp 1-3

[Special correspondent N. Sautin report: "Troop Withdrawal. Final Hours. IZVESTIYA Special Correspondent Reports From the Soviet-Afghan Border."]

[Text] The last Soviet troop convoys are crossing the border bridge. They leave behind them their combat existence with its burned-out trucks, overturned armored personnel carriers [APCs], and charred guardposts. They have also left behind the roads down which they traveled while expecting mortar shells or heavy machinegun attacks at any moment, roads that could also have exploded under their wheels because of mines.

Twenty-three-year-old Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Bulanov, holder of two Orders of the Red Star, jumped down from the APC. He stretched his legs. He still looked like a youngster. He was sent to Afghanistan straight from college. He commanded a combat engineer platoon. Thousands of our internationalist servicemen know his name and are grateful to him. It was Bulanov's subunit that swept the road to the Salang Pass of mines in the most risky regions. The commander of a large insurgent detachment proposed that Aleksandr defect to his gang, and offered him a monthly salary of 1,000 afghani. On being refused, the commander threatened: "Watch it, our snipers will be ordered to target you."

Bulanov went in advance of the returning army convoys, feeling out every meter of the stony road. He was well aware of the fate of those who had preceded him and been shot by the bandits. A cairn has been erected to them out of defused mines. But nobody could do this dangerous job for him. So he covered the entire route along the Salang with an engineer's probe.

I saw Bulanov inscribe the words "I am alive and well and back home again!" on the cable form. This cable would be going to Zhitomir, to his mother Yelena Vladimirovna, a schoolteacher, and to his father, Petr Mitrofanovich, a senior livestock expert with the oblast forestry administration.

So how did the officer feel when he stepped onto his peaceful, native soil? Without striking any poses, the young combat engineer said frankly and honestly: "At the moment all I can feel is one thing: I survived!"

Members of the Surkhan-Darya Komsomol Obkom were handing out cable forms as soon as they had crossed the bridge of friendship linking the Afghan city of Hayraton with our own Termez. M. Alimov was one of them. He is a senior reserve lieutenant. He himself returned from Afghanistan quite recently after being wounded. His subunit had guarded the pipeline through which fuel was sent to Kabul from the Soviet Union. He had had to exchange fire with the dushman dozens of times. Here, on the bridge, where he has been coming for 2 weeks now, Alimov meets soldiers and officers every day whom he knows from service over there, on the other side of the Amu Darya. He has just been embraced by political worker Viktor Zaporozhets, deputy commander of the political section in one of the subunits. They remember the type of events with which the Afghan war was replete.

"One soldier disappeared," M. Alimov said. "As a Tajik with a knowledge of Dari, I was ordered to find him and bring him back. I went around all the villages. This is what I found out: Rebels had stopped our vehicle, knocked the soldier out, and sold him as a slave. In short, the search lasted for 2 and ½ months. I eventually heard that someone was being held prisoner by the Abdul Khan rebel group near Mazar-e Sharif. I ventured into negotiations... The young man was saved. I cannot remember the soldier's name, but I think of him as Igor. He came from Dzhambul..."

Alimov himself came under fire from rocket projectiles in Pol-e Khomri. Our ammunition depot blew up. Everything was burned. There was a hospital close by. Alimov helped to carry and rescue the wounded. He was himself

hit by shrapnel. He was treated in Leningrad. As a reserve officer he well knows the value of words. The cable forms he has brought to the border say "I'm back! And I'm alive and well..."

At the so-called bivouac (several kilometers from Termez), where our servicemen can allow themselves and their equipment to recover from the difficult journey through Afghanistan, I met Captain Vladimir Babilyulko, commander of a self-propelled artillery installations battery. His howitzers were quite recently shelling the slopes of the Panjshir Valley, knocking out machine-gun emplacements belonging to the "intransigents." The captain is from Moldavia, where his wife Yana is waiting for him. And Babilyulko's thoughts are already there, at home, rather than in war-torn Afghanistan. But we are reminded of the war by Sergeant Vugar Mamedov's bandages. He was wounded by shrapnel in late January.

"We were up on the gun," the battery commander said, "when our convoy was passing alongside the villages of Samidakh [name as transliterated], Amar Khel, and Khidzhan [name as transliterated]. There were insurgents in them. We could not come to an agreement. Food trucks en route to Kabul continued to be robbed. More than 1,500 bandits ignored all our warnings and then the fighting started. We were helped by the Afghan Army. When the self-propelled gun's armor was pierced and Mamedov was wounded, he refused to leave the fray. Nor could I send him to the hospital: The sergeant asked to be left with the crew so as to reach the motherland with them."

"This battery has had some tough times," Major Vladimir Solotov, deputy divisional political officer, stated. "After all, it was based at Rukheh—the home territory of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, one of the insurgent ringleaders. Where the howitzers were located there was a wall around his father's home. The battery covered the road and the Soviet hospital sited in the village. Together with assault troops, Capt Babilyulko often repulsed violent insurgent attempts to eliminate our garrison and seize control of this strategically important center. But the capitan is an experienced officer: He has been a battery commander for 9 years. Yet, admittedly, he does not have any awards. He has been nominated for a Red Star five times, but the award lists must have been held up somewhere..."

The battery commander gave a wave of his hand: What did he want with an award, the main thing was to go home. Suddenly, becoming stern, he asked me to write that over the past year there had been no losses in his battery. Previously two people had died: Junior Sergeant Gennadiy Beshimov and Private Nikolay Berezyuk had been blown up by mines. Recent examples of death in Afghanistan had been seen at the exit from the Salang near Kholm—the charred remains of Captain Oleg Shishkin's Mi-8 helicopter downed by the insurgents.

The situation in Balkh Province, through which our last army convoys are moving, is now quiet. The actions of the subunits leaving Afghanistan are being coordinated and directed into other military districts by an operations group drawn from the best staff officers of the Turkestan Military District. They are receiving information on the situation over there by the hour. Colonel Yevgeniy Dolgiyev is currently working on operational communications in the team of officers. He is 40. A graduate of the Armored Troops Academy, he took part in the Soviet convoy withdrawal at the first stage of the fulfillment of the Geneva accords last May. He is assisted by Lieutenant Colonel Mikhail Savenkov, senior instructor at the Turkestan Military District Political Directorate, who 2 years ago accompanied the first Soviet regiments to leave Kabul for the motherland. These officers are now responsible for the lives of our guys over there, across the river, in Afghanistan.

At the other "end" of the line is Lieutenant Colonel Igor Ilyasov, seated in the staff car in Hayraton. I asked Ilyasov to clarify the situation in the city.

"Military property here is currently being handed over to the Afghan Army," the officer said. "The situation has not yet produced any surprises. The troop withdrawal is proceeding in strict accrodance with the Geneva accords..."

The last convoy of Soviet internationalist servicemen will cross the bridge into Termez 15 February.

Afghan Pullout 'Victory for Common Sense'

PM1402190589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Yu. Glukhov article under the rubric "Today We Complete the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops From Afghanistan": "Summing Up"]

[Text] The motherland has welcomed its sons home from Afghanistan. They returned hardened by sun and cold. Dusty from the desert wind. Scorched by the fires of war.

The joy of meeting is mingled with the sorrow of losses, the pain of bereavements, bitter reflections. But nothing can prevent us from assessing at its true worth the significance of today's event.

The signing of the Geneva agreements and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops is a most important contribution to the credit account of peace-loving Soviet foreign policy. This is a victory for common sense, a triumph for the new political thinking, a step that has won broad support among the Soviet people.

The international response to our actions on Afghanistan is exceptional.

"The USSR's decision to totally withdraw its troops from Afghanistan," the Japanese newspaper ASAHI writes, "is of great significance in the sense that it helped revive the trust in Moscow and in socialism as a whole that had somehow been undermined in world politics, and gave a boost to the process of settling regional conflicts by peaceful means in the Near East, in Asia, and in other parts of the world."

"The withdrawal of the troops from Afghanistan is a manifestation of the Soviet leadership's political realism," the French newspapr LES ECHOS comments in an editorial. "Detente in East-West relations is largely associated with the resolution of the Afghan question."

That is why the Afghan experience should not be dismissed out of hand. We have grown wiser. We have destroyed many stereotypes. The new political thinking was not born in the quiet of offices or in hypothetical ideas about the "nuclear end of the world." Its schools, and not only for us, were Afghanistan and Chernobyl.

The Geneva agreements, for instance, demonstrated the possibility of achieving accords in the quest for the settlement of the most complex regional problems. Moving from confrontation to cooperation, and, moreover, becoming guarantors of the agreements reached—that is the path of collaboration between the great powers indicated by Geneva.

Some people in the West, seeing everything in military terms, still seek to attribute to us aggressive plans on Afghanistan that supposedly "failed." But there were and are no such plans. The sending in of the troops was connected with the safeguarding of security on our southern borders. You can call into question the Brezhnev leadership's assessment of the degree of military threat. You can argue about whether or not our class sympathies and antipathies should prevail over state policy (a matter M.S. Gorbachev spoke of at the recent UN General Assembly session when he raised the question of deideologization of interstate relations). You can say that in the future such vitally important questions as the use of troops should not be decided behind the scenes, in secret, without the sanction of the country's parliament. But there can be no doubt that the Soviet Union was not and is not pursuing expansionist goals with regard to Afghanistan, and that assistance to the Afghan people is an act of goodwill.

Some people would have liked us to lose our nerve. Hence the propaganda speculations. Hence the constant provocations, right up until now, involving violations of the Geneva accords. Our enemies would have liked the Soviet Army, guided by "thwarted ambition," to remain in Afghanistan and become bogged down in a complex domestic political situation, stooping so low as to fulfill policing functions, which is alien to its very nature and could cause nothing but psychological trauma to any Soviet person. No one, except the Afghans themselves, has the right to decide the Afghans' internal affairs. Freedom of choice is a principle not only proclaimed but upheld by the Soviet Union.

We certainly were and are worried about the situation taking shape on our southern borders. The thaw in the international climate, the improvement of relations with the United States, and, of course, the conclusion of the Geneva agreements envisaging the strengthening of a neutral, nonaligned, independent Afghanistan relieved the former pitch of tension. But agreements are not concluded in order to be broken. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops on time is a demonstration of loyalty to the commitments we made and of the reliability of the Soviet Union and the Afghan leadership as partners in the accords. And we have a right to expect an equally responsible approach from the United States and Pakistan.

The Soviet troops' withdrawal cannot be viewed outside the context of the Afghan peace settlement, outside the context of the policy of national reconciliation that is being pursued by the PDPA and that has already created favorable conditions for involving a number of opposition groups in the process of restoring peace and tranquility in the country.

After all, a settlement is inconceivable without military detente. And the departure of the Soviet limited contingent is a first step toward reducing the conflict's military intensity. The fewer weapons and troops there are, the greater the chances for peace. For its part, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has done everything in its power to promote the Soviet soldiers' return home.

The quest for political solutions is proceeding in close linkage with military detente. This quest is marked by flexibility and a multiplicity of options.

There is support for contacts with representatives of opposition groups in the hope that dialogue will lead to the growth of confidence and the lessening of mutual intolerance.

There is support for the idea of convening an international conference on an Afghan settlement with the active participation of the UN secretary general. Then there is—as an interim option—a meeting of representatives of all Afghan groups in the presence of UN representatives.

But any settlement must exclude separatist options. The PDPA, the biggest and best organized force in Afghan society, cannot be left out of the reckoning.

A settlement can only be viable given the participation of all strata and groups and consideration of their interests. The kindling of hatred and the preaching of vengeance would lead the country into an impasse and result in new suffering and losses.

Yet another link in the peace plan connected with military-political detente is the restoration of the ravaged Afghan economy. Operation "Salam" ("Peace") was devised—to give emergency aid to Afghans through UN channels. It will be carried out through 1990. Its coordinator is Sadruddin Aga Khan. Aid to Afghanistan, calculated at slightly over $1 billion, will be given to such areas as the returning refugees, boosting agriculture, medical services, and so forth.

Fulfillment of the Geneva agreements and the peace plan proposed by the PDPA would present Afghanistan with favorable prospects for escaping from the protracted crisis situation. But so far, peace efforts have encountered sabotage on the part of the intransigent opposition, which refuses even to recognize the PDPA's right to exist in the country's political life.

This struggle—between the new and the old, between the forces of progress and reaction—can be traced throughout the history of modern Afghanistan. It has always assumed dramatic forms. The first reforming monarch, Amanullah, was expelled from the country. His successor, Nadir Shah, was killed at a parade. The last king, Zahir Shah, was overthrown. His replacement, Daoud, was killed during the April revolution. Yes, fortunes have ebbed and flowed, but the movement has been ever upward, and there is no reversing it, particularly now that the ideas of progress have become a serious material force.

But the situation in Afghanistan is not merely one of confrontation between the supporters of progressive transformations and their opponents. It is more complex than that. There is interplay between such factors as the backwardness of Afghan society, the mixed economy, the presence of different ethnic groups and tribes, religion, economic collapse, and fatigue as a result of the protracted war.

The British paper FINANCIAL TIMES, for example, predicts that "the old hostility will begin" between the tribes and ethnic groups in the country. As is known, the Pushtun tribes have traditionally occupied a privileged position in Afghanistan.

There is no unity within the opposition itself. There are contradictions between fundamentalist and moderate groupings. Contradictions between the so-called mujahidin "field commanders" and the politickers who have been sitting it out abroad, getting rich trading in arms and receiving handouts.

There are contradicitons based on different currents of Islam: between the Shiite "Eight" from Tehran and the Sunni "Seven" from Peshawar. The threads of confrontation go even further. The Shiites are backed by Tehran and the Sunnis by Saudi Arabia. These contradictions are echoed in the Persian Gulf and in Lebanon.

In these conditions, national Afghan dialogue—without any outside interference at all and taking into account the interests of all groups, which is what Kabul is proposing—is the only sensible path to a settlement.

Now that it is no longer possible to brandish the bugbear of the "Soviet military presence," the role of the intransigent opposition and its refusal to negotiate looks very unseemly. It is the blind instrument of imperialist forces and reaction. After all, the continuation of the war means self-destruction for the Afghans. And to plan a confederation and subjection to Pakistan is to sell out national interests.

Those who are continuing, by force of inertia, their criminal game over Afghanistan, instead of stopping the bloodshed and helping the country rise from the ruins, are assuming a grave responsibility. It is necessary to heed President Najibullah's new initiative, the Jordanian paper AL-RA'Y urges. The current discord between the two main groupings of Afghans in Islamabad and Tehran over the distribution of seats in the future parliament should be a warning of the growing complexities of the Afghan problem. Any foreign interference, the paper warns, could lead to the creation of a new war danger in the country. This warning is particularly topical in view of reports of the massing of Pakistani forces on the border with Afghanistan.

As for the Soviet Union, it is true to its commitments to Afghanistan. We are neighbors. Fate has ordained that we should live together. V.I. Lenin noted that our countries "have common interests in the East and both states value their independence and want to see all the peoples of the East independent and free. Russia," he wrote, "will always be the first friend of the Sublime Afghan State for the benefit of both peoples." There can be no deviating from Lenin's behest.

UN Commander Praises Withdrawal From Afghanisan

LD1402215189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 14 Feb (TASS) Army General V.I. Varennikov, spokesman for the Soviet military command, today met Major General Rauli Helminen, head of the group of UN observers in Afghanistan and Pakistan. During the conversation, there was a discussion of questions concerning the withdrawal, now being completed, of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan.

In an interview Maj Gen R. Helminen briefed the TASS correspondent on the work of the UN observers in Afghanistan, stressing that he would only answer questions connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

In fulfilling its functions, the UN verification machinery followed a previously devised program, he said. In Afghanistan itself we have set up checkpoints on all routes leading to the Soviet-Afghan border, and also in

other places such as air force bases, border posts in Towraghoudi opposite Kushka in a westerly direction, and in Hayraton opposite Termez in an easterly direction. I would especially like to single out the air force base in Shindand, which is one of the main points for transferring the Soviet troops home. A network of temporary observation posts was also organized in intermediate regions where Soviet units and subunits were stationed. With the help and the assistance of the Soviet side, we were able to successfully carry out the fairly complex mission of confirming the stages of the Soviet troop withdrawal.

In my view, the Soviet side has treated the implementation of the clauses of the Geneva agreements with full respecet for their spirit and letter and has carried them out precisely. This is confirmed both by my personal observations and by actual reports from posts verifying the course of the Soviet troop withdrawal until today. We have developed marvellous relations with the Soviet command. Army Gen V.I. Varennikov kept me constantly informed about the withdrawal of Soviet troops by land and by air. I fully understand that for reasons of security a certain retention of information did occur, but this happened rarely and was not aimed at hampering our activity, Maj Gen R. Helminen said in conclusion.

Rebel Attempts To Convene Consultative Council Fail
LD1402191589 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Islamabad February 14 TASS—It was in the atmosphere of profound contradictions between various groups and trends that the Afghan opposition held the repeated ceremony of opening of the so-called consultative council (shura) in Rawalpindi, Pakistan today. The previous attempt failed last Friday because of differences between Pakistan-based "Alliance of Seven" and the "Alliance of Eight" basing in Iran.

Representatives of the "Alliance of Eight" boycotted today's opening ceremony because of the refusal of the "Seven" to provide for them 100 seats on the Consultative Council. The present chairman of the "Alliance of Seven" Sebghatullah Mujadeddi and a number of his supporters left the hall immediately after the official opening out of solidarity with Iran-based groups. As is known, a fortnight ago Mujadeddi, who belongs to moderate circles of the opposition, signed in Iran an agreement with leaders of the "Eight" guaranteeing for them 100 places in the Consultative Council. But the extremist wing of the "Alliance of Seven" headed by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar refused to comply with the signed agreement and this entailed the outbreak of contradictions.

The sitution worsens also because of the aggravation of long-standing conflict between field commanders of "mujahidin" and their political leaders staying abroad. One of the most influential commanders of the groups waging an armed struggle within Afghanistan, 'Abdul Haq, said he refused to take part in the work of the Consultative Council until the differences are settled. He accused the opposition political leaders of corruption and of the striving to ensure their own interests to the detriment of the solution of the questions of Afghanistan's future. 'Abdul Haq said that if differences continue and the functioning of the shura is not ensured, field commanders will reject political guidance of leaders residing abroad and will tackle the problems themselves.

'Intransigent' Afghan Rebels Looting Food Aid
PM1402155789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Opposition Disrupts Deliveries"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On 10 February, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated in Moscow, the first flight to Kabul by an Ethiopian airline aircraft was successfully accomplished delivering 26 tonnes of UN freight (food, medical supplies, and blankets). Unfortunately, after arriving in Islamabad, the crews of other aircraft—Egyptian and Turkish—were refused permission to fly to Kabul, with reference being made to the lack of security for flights over Afghanistan. According to available information these crews were told at Islamabad airport that they would be shot down by the mujahidin as they flew in to Kabul.

Convoys of trucks carrying UN aid are being looted by intransigent groupings of the opposition, which has a sharply negative attitude toward the humane UN mission to render aid to the Afghan population. Nor is any enthusiasm to be seen in the Western countries' implementation of this aid, the Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasized.

Under the conditions of the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the actions of the Western countries, Pakistan, and the intransigent opposition, which are sabotaging the aid to the Afghan population through UN channels, are of a blatantly antihumanitarian nature and are attempts to achieve the overthrow of the present lawful government of Afghanistan through an economic blockade.

The Soviet side, the Foreign Ministry spokesmen indicated, has suggested allocating three or four freight aircraft to deliver flour and grain from Tashkent to Kabul as the USSR's aid contribution. [passage omitted]

UN Kabul Supply Flights 'Might Resume Soon'
LD1402133288 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 14 TASS—UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has said, answering journalists' questions, that UN food supplies to Kabul might resume soon. A Swedish plane will supposedly make the flights, he said.

The only UN-sponsored Islamabad-Kabul flight, made by the Ethiopian airlines last Friday, brought Kabul a plane-load of food. But the company refused to continue flights since there was no flight safety over the areas controlled by the rebels. Egyptian and Turkish air companies earlier refused to fly from Pakistan to Afghanistan for the same reason. According to available information, Egyptian and Turkish crews were directlly told at Islamabad Airport that their planes would be shot down by rebels on the approaches to Kabul.

The REUTER News Agency reported that a Swedish Transsvede plane would fly to Islamabad on Tuesday where it will be decided whether a flight to Kabul is possible under the present conditions. "We shall not fly to Kabul until there is flight safety," said Transsvede Managing Director T. Johansson.

'Barbaric' Shelling Kills 4 Children in Kabul

LD1402163689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1604 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Kabul, 14 Feb (TASS)—Today, detachments of the irreconcilable opposition again subjected the Afghan capital to shelling. One of the shells fell near a bakery, next to which was a large line of women and children, waiting for bread. As a result of this barbaric act, five people were killed, four of whom where young children. [passage omitted]

Comparison on Western Propaganda on Kabul

PM1402110989

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 10 February carries in its Second Edition on pages 1 and 5 a report by TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovskiy for PRAVDA on the Kabul situation. Comparison of the PRAVDA Second Edition item, entitled "City On Alert," with the Moscow PRAVDA First Edition version published in the 10 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 24-25, reveals the following variations:

page 24, column two, paragraph two, penultimate sentence, through paragraph three, first sentence, PRAVDA Second Edition reads: ...their feeble attempts.

Most Western embassies... (deleting words)

page 24, column two, paragraph four, fifth sentence, through page 25, column one, second paragrapl., first sentence, PRAVDA Second Edition reads: ...is a lie.

Yesterday I visited... (deleting sentences)

page 25, column one, paragraph three, fifth sentence, through paragraph four, first sentence, PRAVDA Second Edition reads: ...boys with it."

Life in Kabul... (deleting sentences)

page 25, Column one, paragraph four, second sentence, through paragraph five, first sentence, PRAVDA Second Edition reads: ...to prevent sabotage.

The explosion of... (deleting sentences)

Jordan's Husayn Terms Shevardnadze Visit 'Important'

PM1502113389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "King Husayn's Statement"]

[Text] Amman, 14 Feb—The Soviet Union holds a correct and very constructive position on the Near East problem. That is why we deem USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's upcoming visit to be important, King Husayn of Jordan stated. In an interview with Japanese journalists, he also gave a high assessment of his talks in December 1987 with M.S. Gorbachev on a broad range of questions dealing with the prospects for a peaceful settlement of the Near East crisis.

The king indicated the primary significance under present conditions of convening an international conference on the Near East. Attention must be concentrated, he continued, on coordinating the efforts of the great powers with the actions of the UN Security Council members and also with the EEC.

Iran's Revolution Fails To Deliver on Promises

PM1402124789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[APN political observer E. Ryabtsev "Observer's Opinion" for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "The Discarded Revolution"]

[Text] Where is Iran going? Everyone is asking this question since the achievement last August of a cease-fire agreement between Iran and Iraq. The 10 years that have elapsed since the February Islamic revolution of 1979 have been a series of grim ordeals, sufferings, and sacrifices for the entire Iranian people.

Stirred by Ayatollah Khomeyni, peasants, merchants, craftsmen, workers, and the petite and middle bourgeoisie rose up against the odious Shah's regime, which had turned the country into a prison and the domain of Transatlantic monopolies. Millions of Iranians saw the revolution as an opportunity to establish social justice. The peasants were expecting to obtain land, and working people in cities were hoping for an improvement in their living standard and wider social rights.

The popular uprising in Iran stirred millions of Muslim believers with its anti-imperialism, particularly in the Near East, including the Arab people of Palestine. It seemed that the enormous internal support for the Islamic revolution and fervent sympathies outside would give it swift and irresistible momentum.

But this did not happen. Having thrown out the shah and his officials, the imams did not touch the feudal landowners. Land taken from the former shah's myrmidons was distributed in the main to the families of "Guards of the Islamic Revolution," called upon to deal ruthlessly with its opponents. The rest went to a small number of peasants.

The nationalization of large industrial enterprises and foreign trade partly changed the status of working people. The government distributed nationalized housing among the workers and increased budget appropriations for the development of backward areas. But even these limited measures enabled the Khomeyni regime to secure a sufficiently broad social base in villages and cities. The people were clearly expecting developments and a substantial improvement in their lives.

But the flight of the technical intelligentsia and management cadres and the severing of links with many Western companies had an adverse effect on economic development. The people's living standard declined.

The movement for the autonomy of Kurds, Turkmens, and Azerbaijanis sprang up under the influence of the anti-Shah revolution. Iran became a bitter arena of struggle among all manner of forces. There was open confrontation in the ranks of the clergy itself over the limits of the social transformations in the country. At the same time, the imams were striking out at both the left-wing and right-wing opposition. The ayatollahs dealt a crushing blow to the Iranian army officer corps, seeing it as a pro-Shah force, thus dramatically weakening the country's defense capability.

Supporters of social reforms—the Iranian communists and their Tudeh Party—backed the Khomeyni regime, although they criticized it for inconsistency in domestic and foreign policy. The ayatollahs dealt ruthlessly with the party.

Confusion in political life and economic chaos caused dissatisfaction among the poorest strata of the population, calling into question the new regime's viability. The Iran-Iraq war, which broke out in September 1980, abruptly changed the course of the revolution. The white-hot atmosphere of the Iran-Iraq border disputes was exploited by Khomeyni to consolidate his own forces. The energy of the people's revolution was directed toward self-annihilation in a senseless eight-year bloodbath.

After former President A. Bani-Sadr and his supporters fled to France in 1981 the Majlis and the government established almost complete rule by the imams, subjecting all spheres of Iranian society's life to Islamic ideology. The right wing of the clergy, reflecting the interests of feudal landowner circles and the haute bourgeoisie, sought to stifle the revolution from within and was prepared to make a compromise with the United States. The positions of these forces was objectively intensified by the Khomeyni regime's rabid ideological struggle against communism and the indoctrination of the population in the spirit of hostility toward the USSR.

The war halted the development of social processes in Iran. The deep internal crisis due to the serious economic situation, defeats at the front, and widespread discontent among the people forced Ayatollah Khomeini to abandon it as a means of eliminating the Iraqi regime.

As a result of the war, 13 million active people are without jobs today. Many plants lie idle because of a lack of funds for the acquisition of raw materials or equipment. Of the 47 million Iranians, 12 million are living below the poverty line and 22 million can scarcely make ends meet. The senseless loss of hundreds of thousands of people, the tens of thousands of invalids, and enormous problems connected with supplying people with essential goods have led to a sharp drop in support for the regime. At the same time, the myth of the Iranian revolution's role as a purifying force capable of getting the whole of the Muslim world behind it has been shattered.

The Shi'ite clergy is still divided, as it was 8 years ago, into supporters of state interference in the economy and champions of private enterprise freedom. Radicals continue, by inertia, to advocate the waging of a "people's war" and the strategy of human offensive waves against Iraq.

Where is Iran going? The resurrection of the devastated economy is impossible without massive foreign aid and credits. International bankers are predicting a strong demand for capital. U.S., Japanese, and West European companies are hoping to sell to Iraq and Iran goods worth tens of billions of dollars. This could objectively lead to an intensification of the positions of the haute bourgeoisie and its adherents among the clergy. The restoration of many cities and wrecked plants will provide work for large numbers of people, promising them a better living standard and certain social benefits. In these conditions victory could be on the side of those religious forces who put forward precisely that program.

According to President Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the revolution has not yet provided answers to a host of questions concerning ideas about building an Islamic-based society. He believes that the religious leaders have not yet been able to explain to the people the economic advantages associated with the Islamic form of management. The Iranian leadership, the president stresses, has not expounded clear-cut foreign policy principles and has not established the people's sovereign right to participate in various matters. As to who tackles these questions and in what way, the immediate future will tell.

One thing is clear today, and that is that the Islamic people's revolution has failed to realize the aspirations of millions of Iranians. But it should also be admitted that it has performed its historic mission and carried out its

main work by raising the consciousness of the Iranian people and arming them with the experience of a very grim struggle and ordeals. The country will never return to the times that existed before February 1979 and that plunged it into the maelstrom of a senseless eight-year bloodbath.

Montazeri Urges 'Open Society' in Iran

PM1402154989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Ayatollah Montazeri's Appeal"]

[Text] Nicosia, 13 Feb—Ayatollah H.A. Montazeri, the prominent Iranian religious and political figure officially proclaimed the heir to Ayatollah R.M. Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has appealed to the country's leadership to "compensate for past mistakes" and begin creating "an open society" in the true sense of the word, the Iranian news agency IRNA has reported.

Analyzing the decade of postrevolutionary Iran's development, Montazeri voiced doubt about the fulfillment of the goals set at the beginning of the revolution and the promises given to the people, as well as about the preservation of the unity of Iranian society. While hailing the amnesty implemented in Iran to celebrate the revolution's anniversary, at the same time the ayatollah advocated the rehabilitation of the political prisoners who have been freed and urged the leadership to allow the 4 million Iranian emigres to return to the motherland. He also advocated the lifting of censorship and greater freedom of speech.

Israeli Communist Leader Interviewed

LD1402193489 Moscow TASS In English 1716 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—"The majority of the Israeli Jewish population is for a dialogue with Palestine Liberation Organisation, which is corroborated by the recent public opinion poll," said Me'ir Vilner, secretary-general of the Israelei Communist Party. At the same time, he noted in an interview with TASS reporter Ruben Shirinyan, the policy of the official quarters remains unchanged: The government refuses to recognise the PLO and spurns down the idea of establishing an independent Palestinian state. Israeli soldiers, as before, commit outrages on the occupied territories, killing women, children and the aged.

The secretary-general said that the continuation of this policy has a pernicious influence on the country's economy. Nearly 70 percent of Israel's budget is now used for military purposes, service of debts and interest on them, he said. The country has 120,000 jobless or nearly 8 percent of the entire workforce. Appropriations for public health and education are dwindling. The burden of military expenditures is growing.

Me'ir Vilner names as "important" the decisions taken by the latest session of the Palestine National Council. In fact, they express recognition of Israel by the Palestine Liberation Organisation and point to the readiness of Palestinian Arabs to settle the Israeli-Arab conflict peacefully, he noted. For this purpose it is necessary to settle, above all, the Palestinians. Under these circumstances the Israeli leaders should display new political thinking, pointed out the Israeli Communist leader.

"In my opinion, conditions are now becoming ripe for restoring diplomatic relations between Israel and the USSR," said Me'ir Vilner. "But to achieve this, Israel should make practical steps towards peace."

Sub-Saharan Africa

SWAPO President Sends Message to Gorbachev

LD1402110289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1028 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (TASS)—Sam Nujoma, president of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) has expressed gratitude to Mikhail Gorbachev for his congratulations on the occasion of signing the agreements for a settlement in southwest Africa. In his message to the Soviet leader, he expressed satisfaction with and gratitude for the all-round material aid and political and moral support given to SWAPO in the interests of the Namibian people. Without this aid from the Soviet Union, the message stresses, SWAPO's struggle could not have reached its present stage, in which the possibility of holding free and fair elections in Namibia is opening up.

The SWAPO president expressed hope for further strengthening the friendship between SWAPO and the CPSU.

New Ambassador to Somalia Appointed

LD1302140289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Vladimir Korneyev as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Somali Democratic Republic. Vladimir Korneyev was born in 1940. He has been in diplomatic work since 1965 and has held a number of senior posts in the central apparatus and in overseas establishments of the USSR Foreign Ministry. In 1981-85 he was counsellor at the USSR Embassy in Uganda and in 1985-88 he was head of a sector and then deputy head of the third African department of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Bakhadyr Abdurazakov has been released from responsibilities as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Somalia in connection with his retirement on pension.

Transport Project With Tanzania Announced
EA1302135989 Moscow International Service in Swahili 1730 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] The formation of a Tanzanian-Soviet commercial project for the transportation of goods has been announced in Dar es Salaam. The agreement on the launching of the project, Tansov (?Packing) Ltd, was signed on Friday [10 February] by the director of the Moscow Regional Passenger Transport Corporation, Mr (Sakalov), and a representative of Tanzanian business circles, Mois Danji.

The company will transport goods from the port of Dar es Salaam to the interior of the country and to neighboring countries. In the first phase, trips will involve 25 Kamaz trucks and trailers. It is planned to increase the number of freight trucks to 100 in the next 2 years. The Soviet Union will provide spare parts and equipment. The Soviet partners will receive one-third of the profits. The formation of Tansov (?Packing) Ltd will earn profits for the Tanzanian side and help solve the difficult problem of road transportation in the country.

Solutions to Africa Debt Problem Viewed
LD1102221989 Moscow International Service in French 1900 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Today we continue our series of talks by Professor Nikolay Kosukhin on the subject: Africa and the new political thinking. Today the topic is the problem of the African countries' foreign debt and ways of solving it.

I think that today, at the end of the 20th century, the problem of tackling economic and social backwardness in the African countries interests all mankind, as does the struggle for peace and and combating environmental pollution, says Prof Kosukhin. Let me quote an article published last year in the French weekly REVOLUTION analyzing the economic situation on the continent. It says: There are two Africas. One is known as a fragile sapling bent over by the burden of debt, although the wealth lying beneath its soil and its agricultural and industrial production play a large role in the world's economy. The other Africa, [word indistinct] and multiform, lives in a different age. Often it looks on helplessly as its wealth is pillaged. This duplicity permeates the paradoxes which weigh heavily on political life.

The first paradox is that the continent which today exists in misery has created the prosperity enjoyed by a sizable part of the world community. It is still a source of enrichment and development for the capitalist powers. The world economic crisis is felt more acutely in Africa than in the capitalist countries and every disaster there takes on truly catastrophic dimensions. The reasons for this situation in which the developing countries find themselves, need to be sought in their economic dependence on the developed countries, Kosukhin continues. Africa provides raw materials to the world market, but the prices of these materials have fallen in the last few years. At the same time, the prices of industrial products have risen. The effect of this is clear: Economic growth has slowed down. According to the United Nations, the deterioration in the conditions of commercial exchanges has cost the developing African countries tens of billions of dollars in the last few years alone.

Second paradox: The least developed countries are the largest weapons importers. Incessant regional conflicts have the most pitiful effects on their economies. War swallows up enormous sums while the stranglehold of debt grows tighter and tighter. So it is clear that a reduction in military spending and the resolution of conflicts are one way of financing development and solving the debt problem. All these factors could be the most important source of financing economic and social development in the countries of the continent which are today engaged in one conflict or another, the professor observes. Judge for yourself: The war in Angola claimed 60,000 lives; material damage has been assessed at $12 billion. The recently initiated process of settling military conflicts through political means will be most beneficial for the developing countries. On the other hand, cutting credits for the arms race—and this is just what the Soviet Union proposes—and channeling part of the sum thus realized into developing the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America could serve as an example of the genuine humanism of a new way of political thinking.

But even if peace reigns on the continent, the debt will remain. A major new and interesting program was proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session: to decree a 100-year moratorium on debt payments from the least developed countries, or even to write them off altogether. This gesture ought to be accompanied by a number of other measures by all the creditor countries.

So far we have been talking about ways of eliminating the debt in terms of international cooperation, but are there any internal reserves? It is also possible to tackle backwardness and gradually to reduce the foreign debt by means of self-sufficiency, Prof Kosukhin believes. I am not saying that contacts with foreign countries should be stopped. The human and natural resources in a country have to be exploited to the maximum possible. But what do we see happening today? Although it is primarily an agrarian continent, Africa does not provide 100 percent of its own food requirements. One person in five consumes imported food. It is in agriculture, in fact, that self-sufficiency can and should be attained. I can give you some examples: Cape Verde, which is only a small country, is doing a lot to supply its own food requirements.

This is interesting: A conference on the problems of utilizing the human factor for development and overcoming backwardness was held last March in Khartoum. This means that the leaders of most of the states of the continent understand the need to make maximum use of

their internal reserves. However, the problem of underdevelopment today has spilled over beyond the framework of a single continent; all mankind is preoccupied with it. The problem of survival in the real sense of the word is facing the peoples of Africa and it can only be solved through concerted efforts, Prof Nikolay Kosukhin said in conclusion.

East Europe

MSZMP Holds Extraordinary Plenum 10-11 Feb

Discusses Political Reform

PM1402121889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent F. Lukyanov: "Along the Path of Democratization; MSZMP Central Committee Extraordinary Plenum Has Been Held in Budapest and Made a Number of Important Decisions"]

[Text] The work of the extraordinary plenum of the MSZMP Central Committee lasted 2 days, 10-11 February, from morning until late evening. The public's attention was riveted on what was happening in the MSZMP Central Committee building on the banks of the Danube. To all appearances, no other single event in Hungary's recent political life has generated such great interest.

Actually, that is not surprising. After all, the MSZMP Central Committee extraordinary plenum was convened to examine questions which leave few people indifferent in Hungary today. Questions of the political reform of Hungarian society, of the reform of the party itself, its attitude toward the numerous alternative sociopolitical movements and organizations, problems of the country's historical past—there are perhaps no more topical themes for the country's present-day life.

What is the sociopolitical situation in which the plenum has convened? As is well known, numerous alternative movements and associations have been created in Hungary recently. Initially the MSZMP's attitude toward the "informal" groups was rather guarded. But these fears were not confirmed, and people are becoming convinced that the existence of alternative organizations is not a threat to the social and public system: Not one of them is trying to change it. On the contrary, many informal groups, although they criticize the party's policy on some issues, are speaking of the need for a join' quest for a way out of the socioeconomic situation.

It was this which determined the change in the MSZMP's attitude toward them. At the winter session of the Hungarian National Assembly J. Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, said that the Hungarian communists, in the interests of resolving nationwide tasks, are prepared to cooperate with all forces proceeding along the path of reforms. Soon after this the first official meetings were held between representatives of the MSZMP and a number of alternative organizations. Life itself and the progress of democratic transformations have thus set Hungarian communists the task of determining their attitude toward the idea of a multiparty system and political and trade union pluralism.

What stance did the plenum adopt? By a majority of votes the participants in the extraordinary plenum adopted a resolution noting the need to continue the in-depth reform of political institutions and expressing the conviction that pluralism of the political system with regard to the country's conditions can be implemented within the framework of a multiparty system. With a consideration for historical experience, the best guarantees can thereby be created for controling the activity of the leadership and preventing abuses of power.

At the same time the plenum resolution notes that many illusions regarding the solution of economic and social problems are sometimes linked with the idea of the multiparty system. In this connection the resolution stresses that the political reform cannot replace the solution of economic tasks, but is designed merely to promote their implementation.

The MSZMP decided to adopt active stances, not to observe the development of events from the sidelines but to try itself to influence the process of the formation of a multiparty system in order to preserve its leading role under the new conditions. How specifically will the transition from the one-party system to the multiparty system proceed? The speech delivered at the plenum by K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, contained the thought that this transition will, to all appearances, be quite lengthy. The elections to the National Assembly next year, in 1990, which will obviously be held on a multiparty basis, will undoubtedly be a very important stage. In the opinion of K. Grosz, the MSZMP will be able to retain its leading role in society even under conditions of open competition. The party does not intend to retreat from its basic principles; it is primarily the recognition of the socialist path of development, recognition of the fact that the country belongs to one of the two biggest military alliances until their simultaneous dissolution, and, finally, the mutual desire to preserve social stability, which will figure as the basis for agreements with other parties.

The second and perhaps no less important question on the plenum's agenda was the question of the work of the MSZMP Central Committee Subcommission on Historical Questions headed by I. Berend, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

On the basis of new data obtained as a result of studying previously unknown archive documents, the commission deemed it necessary to make amendments to the description of the events of 1956. The attempts by the Hungarian party of working people to rid itself of the Rakosi dictatorship in the 1953-1956 period were not

crowned with success. The victory of the Rakosi-Gero group definitively plunged the country and party into crisis. The funeral of the repressed L. Rajk on 6 October 1956 played the part of detonator in the heated atmosphere of the people's anger at the criminal clique. Young people and the intelligentsia went out into the streets of Budapest and other cities and were joined by the workers masses. According to the commission's conclusions, at this stage the demonstration was by nature a popular uprising against the oligarchical regime and proposed the renewal of socialism on a democratic basis. But later, because of the Gero-Hegedus government's failure to act and because of a number of other factors, events began to assume a totally different character. Counterrevolutionary forces eager for revenge and the return of their estates and declassed and lumpen elements were considerably activated and switched to the offensive. By early November 1956 the forces of the counterrevolution were dominant.

Having examined the subcommission's report, the MSZMP Central Committee agreed with this interpretation as a whole but stressed that further study of the question is required. It was decided to submit the discussion of this problem to the broad public. The subcommission's report will be published in full in the next issue of the MSZMP Central Committee's theoretical journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE.

With that the MSZMP Central Committee extraordinary plenum completed its work.

Grosz on 'Deepening Crisis'

PM1502103989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "The Difficult Paths of Renewal. K. Grosz Speech at the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Budapest, 13 Feb—The newspaper NEPSZABADSAG today published the text of a speech by MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz at the 10-11 February MSZMP Central Committee Plenum.

Party members, as indeed the whole of Hungarian society, K. Grosz said in particular, are showing a special interest in the plenum's work. The reason for this is that the country is going through a new, more intense period of economic and political crisis than has existed for a long time now. The crisis manifests itself primarily in a declining standard of living and a deteriorating material position for an ever increasing number of people. Party members and the public are expressing dissatisfaction with the results achieved in the period since the Hungarian national party conference. The processes taking place in society have accelerated to an extraordinary degree and a multitude of unusual new phenomena are occurring. Many people believe that the party and government are not in control of the state of affairs and are not having the proper impact on the processes taking place. The increasing number of extreme statements of a left-wing and right-wing flavor—although these terms should be used with caution—reinforce one another. All this gives rise not only to concern, but to political fear among the population.

Dwelling on the causes of the crisis, K. Grosz pointed out that in the period that has elapsed it has not been possible to convince the public that the plans in the sphere of economic and political development will require a greater effort and high performance. Another reason is the fact that the party was too busy with internal matters; it was directing energy toward the organization of the party conference and was not addressing with due resolve and initiative the real processes taking place in politics, society, and all over the country.

The exaggerated and extreme behavior evident in the activity of the mass media should also be included among the causes of the crisis, K. Grosz continued. In the past 10 months public information has changed qualitatively and quantitatively. At the same time, it has been unable to offset articles by media representatives which have been small in number but which set the tone for groups opposing party and government policy. It is no problem when they describe real events and facts. The problem is that they are deliberately exaggerating shortcomings and are blaming the party as a whole or the top leaders for the immoral behavior and illegal actions of individuals. There are also cases where they have put out false reports.

The causes of the deepening crisis are also linked to the instigatory activity of opposition-minded alternative organizations. The extremist wing of opposition organizations is exacerbating the situation, is opposed to cooperation, and is trying to get people who have come under their influence to oppose the current system. What are their tactics? First of all they want to split the MSZMP into several parts—into a "reformist wing" and a "Stalinist wing"—and weaken the center. In this way they are trying to limit the MSZMP's influence in order to attach to them the part that has been detached from us.

We must have no illusions, K.Grosz continued. The extremists among our political opponents—as can be deduced from their statements—want not the renewal of socialism but its elimination by peaceful means. They do not want to share the difficulties, but to exploit our weaknesses for the purpose of restoration. Can it be that we are underestimating the opposition organizations' extremist forces? No, but we must not overestimate them either. These extremist circles are not a significant political force as yet. They do not have a fully formed program, but the tension which will accompany the country's economic development in the years to come could expand their camp and influence. So it is a

legitimate question: Is time on our or the opoposition's side? I believe it is up to us, our efforts, our influence on the masses. I am convinced, the speaker pointed out, that time is on our side.

An interest in maintaining order, security, and political stability can be sensed in society at the present time. Most people cherish the socialist system, the results that have been achieved, and Hungary's international prestige. In the interests of socialism people want to get rid of the errors in its development as quickly as possible. More and more people are realizing that fruitless political debate divides society: It does not strengthen its cohesion, but merely facilitates the increase of opponents and, instead of the desired national unity, could become a source of national disunity and give rise to confrontation in society.

When assessing the current political situation in the country, K. Grosz continued, special mention must be made of one event that occurred recently and continues to attract the attention of party members and broad public circles. I am talking about the statement by I. Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, on Hungarian radio on 28 January. It contained a new assessment of the events of 1956. The statement provoked an extremely strong reaction and passionate debate among broad strata of society. I alone, the speaker noted, received more than 500 letters, most of them signed by entire collectives. Many hundreds handed in their party cards in protest. Most of the letter writers and organizations dissociate themselves from the substance and form of the statement. At the same time there were those, and many of them, who agree with the new assessment of the 1956 events.

It is necessary also to decide what the Central Committee should do in the situation that has resulted from I. Pozsgay's statement. Party members are also waiting for a resolute expression of the position on this. I propose, K. Grosz said, that the Central Committee state that it regards Comrade Pozsgay's statement as premature and considers that he was wrong not to inform the Central Committee in advance. At the same time, the Central Committee must guarantee Comrade Pozsgay political confidence. The proposed position could bear witness to the fact that there are no taboo topics as far as we are concerned. We do not want to conceal anything from our past and are talking objectively about our weaknesses. But we are doing this within the system of party organizational procedure and party discipline.

Party democracy and party discipline are two intrinsically connected demands. No one is allowed to violate them. Disputes concerning the party and its policy must first be submitted for examination by party forums. This alone can provide the authority to publicly express a particular personal opinion and is the only way to strengthen trust between MSZMP members and the leadership.

The party must act resolutely, the MSZMP general secretary stressed, against approaches that provide an unjust, one-sided assessment of the past 4 decades of the country's history, portraying it merely as a mass of mistakes and crimes. Communists can be proud of their gains. The responsibility for the omissions rests not with them, but with the leaders whose political shortsightedness and subjectivism have caused errors and distortions.

The results of the past year show that there is a way out of the difficult situation. It is necessary to devise a long-term program for the solution of the housing problem, to get certain strata of the population out of an unfavorable situation, to strengthen public order and morals, to reduce the differnces between the levels of development of individual regions of the country, and to bring down the inflation rate.

In the sphere of international relations Hungary is fulfilling its allied commitments and is acting on the basis of political realities. The MSZMP is seeking to develop a free, independent, and democratic Hungary and to form a socialist political system which has finally eliminated the distortions that fall under the name of the Stalinist model and which not only matches but surpasses the previous gains of the bourgeois world, while, in particular, using the latter's results, K. Grosz pointed out in conclusion.

The information report on the plenum says that the MSZMP Central Committee firmly intends to throughly reform the system of political institutions in the interests of the extensive development of democracy, acting on the basis of the principle of the sovereignty of the people and the rule-of-law state. In the view of the MSZMP Central Committee, political pluralism can be implemented in the country within the framework of a multiparty system. In this way, taking historical experience into account, better guarantees can be established for monitoring the activity of the leadership and preventing abuse of power.

Since society is not prepared for the immmediate implementation of political power based on a multiparty system, there remains the danger of destabilizing, uncontrolled processes. This does not accord with the interests of forces which feel responsible for the country's destiny. So what is needed is a gradual, stable transition and the maintenance of political transformations within a controlled framework.

The plenum examined a document from the MSZMP Central Committee commission engaged in analyzing the past 4 decades. The debate at the plenum makes it possible to conclude that the inability of the leadership of that time to implement renewal led to the political explosion in 1956. It was noted that as a result "there began a genuine uprising, a people's uprising, in which the forces of democratic socialism played a part,

although, from the very outset, forces seeking restoration and declasse elements were ever present. Counterrevolutionary actions intensified from late October 1956 onward."

The MSZMP Central Committee considers it important to carry out further research into the national tragedy of 1956 on the basis of facts and documents.

The MSZMP Central Committee instructed the Politburo to prepare an action program headed "What Does the MSZMP Want?" The plan is to discuss it at a plenum in March.

The MSZMP Central Committee set up a working group to prepare for bilateral and multilateral talks with various political and public organizations in the Republic.

Discusses 1956 Events

PM1402153789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent A. Melnikov dispatch: "Before the Mirror of the Past. Results of MSZMP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Budapest—Counterrevolutionary revolt or popular uprising? The events of 1956 have been assessed by just such a range of concepts in Hungary in recent days. The sharp debate, which has split the country into two camps, was begun by a statement on Hungarian radio by Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and Hungarian minister of state, who declared: "In 1956 there was a popular uprising in Hungary against an oligarchic form of rule which was degrading the nation." An investigation conducted by the MSZMP Central Committee Commission on Historical Issues was the basis for this formula, the TASS correspondent in Budapest reports to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office.

The Hungarian press pointed out that this formulation of the question was a surprise to everyone, including MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, who was in Switzerland at the time. On his way home he told journalists that he had learned about I. Pozsgay's interview only on board the aircraft. In principle, the Hungarian party leader pointed out, I do not rule out that, taking new knowledge into account, we will formulate a new scientific definition and, on that basis, a new political definition of the said events as well.

This approach has met with understanding among broad sections of the Hungarian population. Indeed, in the present atmosphere of glasnost and openness it would be illogical, to put it mildly, to prescribe in advance the way and the angle from which "gaps" in the past should be removed. At the same time the scathing and, in many people's opinion, one-sided term which has cropped up is like a painful thorn in the consciousness of many people.

I have repeatedly heard both from acquaintances and from chance interlocutors that the bloody and tragic events of October-November 1956 cannot be expressed in two words. I remember how my classmate in a Kiev school was unable to find a single word to say about them in a history lesson: A few years previously his father had burned to death in a tank in the streets of Budapest. For many people in Hungary the interpretation of those events has extended over many years. There are many people who doomed themselves to voluntary exile at that time and who now visit the motherland only as tourists. People who found themselves, frequently only by chance, on different sides of the barricades during those days still live side by side in the country. With pain in his voice an acquaintance recently showed me the government award he had received for crushing the counterrevolutionary revolt. "Have I really become a counterrevolutionary today because I fought alongside Soviet soldiers against my own people?" he asked.

During the past few days the MSZMP general secretary alone received more than 500 letters, including many collective ones. It turned out that just 28 of the writers agreed with I. Pozsgay's radio statement. The other letters expressed surprise and disagreement with his stand.

It became obvious that the debate, which had embraced the whole country, could be resolved only within the authoritative framework of an MSZMP Central Committee plenum. It began 10 February and lasted 2 long days. Even on the eve of that party forum no one could have predicted what decision would be adopted or how the debate would end.

The information report on the plenum points out that the Central Committee confirmed during the debate that the leadership's incapacity for renewal led to a political explosion in 1956. A truly popular uprising burst out, in which all forces of democratic socialism participated. Right from the start, however, forces seeking the restoration of the old prewar order—declasse elements—were also inseparably present in the processes which had gotten under way. Counterrevolutionary actions intensified at the end of October.... Commenting on the results of the plenum in a Hungarian radio and television interview, K. Grosz emphasized that the events of 1956 began with an uprising, when very many honest people, who were not revolting against the system but were dissatisfied with their own position and with the situation which had taken shape, marched in demonstrations, took up arms, and entered into a struggle against the political group in power at the time. We believe, K. Grosz pointed out, that in this and other spheres we must return to the initial assessment and rely on the facts. We are not arguing over whether it was a revolution or a counterrevolution. But we are arguing over the way we can accurately trace the process by which the uprising turned into a counterrevolution.

The Hungarian party leader emphasized in his plenum speech that work on studying the events of that and other periods will continue with the fullest regard for the opinions of communists and the whole of Hungarian society.

The plenum acknowledged that I. Pozsgay had been hasty to publicize the results obtained so far from the investigation by the Commission on Historical Issues, before they were discussed at the MSZMP Central Committee. It is viewed as regrettable that the oversimplified approach taken in connection with his statement was the cause of misunderstandings. At the same time the Central Committee assured Comrade I. Pozsgay of its confidence in him.

Today, following the publication of the plenum materials, which contain preliminary political assessments of very complex issues, many people in Hungary are asking: Was such a sharp debate necessary in the present complex situation? Will arguing about the past not divert us from the present urgent problems? Nevertheless, it has become clear to the majority of MSZMP members and ordinary Hungarians that it is possible to see in the mirror of the past not only mistakes and crimes but also the real gains of the socialist system and ways to resolve current tasks, chief of which is the strengthening of national unity.

Hungarian Move to Multiparty System Viewed

LD1302230289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2147 GMT 13 Feb 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Sergey Fanton]

[Text] Hello, comrades. The changes underway in the socialist countries evoke lively interest in the press, on television, and in other foreign mass media. The decisions of the MSZMP extraordinary plenum, which took place in Budapest 10-11 February, are being debated in a lively manner. Comrade Grosz' plenum speech was published on 13 February. The interest in the plenum is understandable. The session was convened to examine the issues of Hungarian political reform; numerous movements and associations, providing an alternative to the MSZMP, have been established in Hungary recently. To begin with, the authorities regarded them with a bit of caution. However, as time passed and it became clear that the existence of alternative organizations did not, in itself, pose a threat to the Republic's social and economic system, the new organizations began to be trusted more and more.

It is precisely in these conditions that the plenum was convened. Life itself, as well as the course of democratic transformations, has set the Hungarian communists the task of defining their attitude toward a multiparty system and political and trade union pluralism. In the resolution passed by the plenum, a majority of its participants voted in favor of a multiparty system, believing that this would provide the best guarantees for controlling the leadership's activities; guarantees that the leadership would not abuse power.

The principle of a multiparty system currently gives rise to quite a few illusions with regard to solving economic and social problems. It is obvious that political reforms cannot be a substitute for solving economic tasks—their role is merely to facilitate their implementation. It is legitimate to ask specifically how the transition from a one-party to a multiparty system will take place. Grosz, leader of the Hungarian communists, noted that in all probability this transition would be a lengthy one. Nonetheless, elections to the National Assembly, alreadey scheduled for 1990, will apparently be held on a multiparty basis.

The Hungarian communists are of the opinion that their party will, in the conditions of open competition, be capable of retaining its leading role in society.

CPSU Reveals Bela Kun Executed in 1938

LD1002163789 Budapest MTI in English 1521 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 10 (MTI)—Bela Kun, leader of the Hungarian Socialist Republic of 1919, is assumed to have died in late November 1939 in a Soviet prison. The CPSU has recently informed HSWP and the (?Institute of Party History) that recent findings seem to suggest Bela Kun was sentenced to death by firing squad by the military college of the USSR's Supreme Court on August 29, 1938, and executed the same day.

The party paper NEPSZABADSAG carries an article on the background of Bela Kun's trial, based on research by the Institute of Party History. Accordingly, the accusers wanted to convict Bela Kun on the trumped-up charge of being a Trotskiyist who had conspired against Comintern. At the same time Kun was the last foreign Comintern leader of Lenin's associates in the Soviet Union. Stalin and his supporters attempted to impose their will on Comintern and eliminate foreign influence. It seems that Bela Kun was condemned to die the day of his arrest June 1937, but as his trial was not made public, it would appear he was not willing to play the traitor.

As far as the trial documents are concerned, they may have been preserved as Soviet archives still have documents carrying the stamp: "Keep forever."

LCY Presidium Discusses Future Tasks

PM1502113589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Feb—The tasks stemming from the recent 20th LCY Central Committee Presidium Plenum were discussed at a LCY Central Committee Presidium

session. Its participants noted that the decisions adopted unanimously at the plenum indicate the clear avenues for resolving a number of most topical political and social problems. The present crisis within the country can only be overcome by implementing a united all-Yugoslav policy and struggling for a democratic federal Yugoslavia as a self-governing socialist fellowship of equal peoples and ethnic groups.

It is now important, the report on the LCY Central Committee Presidium session said, to channel efforts into implementing social and economic reforms and preparing for the 14th LCY Congress, which is due to take place before the end of this year. It was stressed that there should be thorough preparations for the party forum. This entails the renewal of leading party cadres and the democratization of cadre policy in all echelons of the LCY.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium also noted the need for enterprising and responsible activity from the party aimed at resolving the population's vitally important problems, implementing reforms, and urgently fulfilling decisions on Kosovo in the struggle against nationalist and other antisocialist forces. This should help accelerate the process of escaping from the crisis and creating a more favorable atmosphere within the country.

The Presidium decided to convene the next, the 21st, LCY Central Committee plenum on 17 February. The announcement indicated that the composition of the Central Committee would be renewed and new members of the Central Committee and LCY Central Committee Presidium elected there.

Markovic Faces Difficult Economic Problems

PM1502101589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 89 First Edition p 6

[Dispatch by own correspondent Ye. Fadeyev under the rubric "On the Spot": "Formation of Government: The Formation of a New Cabinet Is Under Way in Yugoslavia Following the Resignation of the Mikulic Government"]

[Text] Belgrade—To make today's events more comprehensible, let us go back 6 weeks. At the end of last December, for the first time in Socialist Yugoslavia's history, a government resigned before the end of its term of office, with 18 months to go. The Branko Mikulic government, TANJUG commented, had been repeatedly tested in various ways during its 2 and ½ years of office. Last May, after presenting the traditional report on its work, it was trenchantly criticized for the fact that the promised economic reform had remained on paper only. However, the SFRY Federal Assembly decided at that time not to hold a vote of confidence in the government. But 7 months went by, and the vote did, nevertheless, take place....

The government may have gone but the problems remain, the mass media here write. Given the difficult situation, the nomination and discussion of candidates for the post of president of the Federal Executive Council (government) began without delay. All six republics and the two autonomous provinces put forward more than 20 candidates. The federal conference of the country's largest political organization—the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia—left two candidates in the field—Borisav Jovic, president of the Serbian Federal Assembly, and Ante Markovic, member of the Croatian Presidency.

The SFRY Presidency opted for Ante Markovic, who was nominated as head of the ninth postwar Yugoslav Government.

Ante Markovic is currently explaining his program to the broad public. He has just met with 130 leaders of major enterprises. As the local press reports, conversations were probably held with certain future cabinet colleagues too.

What, then, is the main thrust of Markovic's program? The future Yugoslav government chief actively supports the creation of a new economic mechanism based on the laws of the market. He is in favor of strengthening SFRY ties with the rest of the world, particularly Europe. Markovic's aim, as he himself has put it, is not to refine and improve the existing social model but to resolutely renew socialism.

It is also essential to solve acute social problems as quickly as possible, the candidate considers, not just by carrying out urgent specific measures but by pursuing a relevant economic development policy. Markovic does not disguise the fact that the path to overcoming the crisis will be hard and that it may be accompanied by social turmoil, including strikes, both justified and unjustified.

The granting of greater autonomy to enterprises, which are still hampered by many regulating dogmas and which suffer from interference in economic matters by the apparatus, is one of the future government's chief goals.

The problems worrying Yugoslavs are well known to Markovic. He is 64 and took part in the people's liberation struggle against fascist invaders. He has held various state and party posts. From 1961 through 1986 he was general director of the Rade Koncar Production Association in Zagreb, which is known far outside Yugoslavia. He has headed the Croatian Government. In 1986-1987 he was president of that republic's presidency. He is a member of the LCY Central Committee. The press particularly notes that the appointment of an experienced economic manager and politician as government head instills confidence that the country's crisis will be overcome.

I would also like to draw attention to another thing. The nomination of Markovic, like his program, was supported by many participants in the recent 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum. Let me quote Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium: "We are bound to support the program that gives the greatest hope and to do all we can to ensure that it furthers the course of economic reform."

The following fact is not without interest either: Markovic believes that his cabinet will solve its set tasks and justify the Yugoslav public's hopes if it is given the opportunity to run 5 years—that is to say, the 18 months remaining in the previous government' term of office and the 4 years prescribed for the new one.

The candidate has also made known the criteria he will use in choosing future cabinet members. Markovic has stated that they must be firm supporters of economic reform and management based on the the laws of the market and must resolutely uphold pan-Yugoslav interests. The search for candidates will be carried out among those ready to assume such responsibility, who have demonstrated their ability to solve important sociopolitical tasks, and who are noted for their organizational skills, the future head of government says.

It has been announced that the list of prospective government members will be published on 25 February. It will be discussed by SFRY Federal Assembly delegates at the beginning of March.

Polish 'Rountable' Views Trade Union Pluralism

PM1402151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Within the Framework of the 'Roundtable'"]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Feb—A session of the second working group of the three set up within the framework of the "roundtable" talks was held yesterday in the Polish capital. Representatives of the government, the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions [OPZZ], and "Solidarity" took part in the session of the group examining problems of trade union pluralism.

Speaking at the session, A. Kwasniewski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, said: There is no doubt that the Polish trade union movement will have a pluralist character. The overall task is to ensure that it promotes the positive changes and reforms taking place in the country. Pluralism must not be a destructive element.

R. Sosnowski, deputy chairman of the OPZZ, stressed the readiness of the OPZZ and its 7 million members to help secure agreement and take a constructive part in shaping the principles of the future trade union movement. Pluralism must serve the supreme goal—the more effective expression and defense of working people's interests. Remembering the recent past, he said, we don't want to turn enterprises once again into an arena for interunion struggle based on political arguments. There are a number of alarming signs that attest to the confrontational stance of some people, who are violating tranquility at enterprises.

"Solidarity" representative T. Mazowiecki noted the importance of the "roundtable" talks being held.

Bulgaria Broadens Information Services

PM1502102789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Morning Edition p4

[TASS report: "Decision To Broaden Glasnost"]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Secretariat has made the decision to more fully inform Bulgarian and accredited foreign journalists. It envisages holding regular meetings with party and state leaders to provide current information on topical issues—Bulgarian and international.

There are also plans to organize a national press center and establish information services attached to the government, the Bulgarian National Assembly, the Foreign Ministry, and other state, economic, and social bodies; the corresponding changes will be made to the normatives determining the protection of state and official secrets.

Commenting on the party decision, POGLED, the Union of Bulgarian Journalists weekly, stressed that it is in harmony with the spirit of restructuring and is welcomed by the Bulgarian public.

West Europe

Mitterrand's TV Address Inspires 'Optimism'

LD1302143488 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—By TASS commentator Yevgeniy Babenko:

A new political climate is taking shape in Europe as the atmosphere in relations between countries becomes warmer and the terms "mutual understanding", "trust" and "joint efforts" are used much more frequently than "confrontation" or "the threat from the East".

Numerous recent contacts between the leaders of the Soviet Union and West European countries have demonstrated that, despite remaining differences in their views on individual world problems, the European political leaders are aware of new possibilities arising to broaden cooperation in the continent and build more bridges between its East and West.

This is borne out, in particular, by French President Francois Mitterrand's latest statement on national television.

He noted that he had recently visited the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria and was planning to visit Poland and the German Democratic Republic soon.

"Pursuing integration within the 12-nation EEC, we should not forget about forming ties with the other European countries as Europe is the common continent for all of us," Mitterrand said.

He thus appeared to take issue with those in the West who understand European cooperation only as cooperation within the EEC, "forgetting" that Europe stretches as far as the Urals.

Another highlight in the French president's statement was his remarks about a "common European home"—a concept suggested by Mikhail Gorbachev and keenly debated in various political circles in Europe.

When visiting Moscow, Mitterrand called the concept a "great idea".

On the whole, his televised address inspired optimism. But if the East remains the only one making efforts to build the "common European home", the project won't get too far. A common home can only be built together.

Everyone should share in the movement for greater world unity. This idea expressed by the Soviet leader in his speech at the United Nations is winning ever more supporters.

FRG Handling of Differences With U.S. Viewed

PM1502112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "Two Stopovers in Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn, 14 Feb—It has already been announced that U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker visited Bonn twice in his whirlwind trip around the NATO capitals. Let's not look for political reasons for this. That's just how the route was drawn up. The leader of U.S. diplomacy held conversations with his West German colleague H.-D. Genscher and then, after visiting Copenhagen, returned to Bonn for a meeting with Federal Chancellor H. Kohl.

Although Baker's visit was considered one of familiarization, great importance was attached to it here.

Bonn has devoted considerable efforts over the last few weeks to quelling rumors of clashes between the United States and the FRG. Several FRG ministers and representatives of the coalition parties have visited Washington. Minister W. Schaeuble, chief of the Federal chancellery, acting as proxy for the head of government, has just returned from there. All those who visited Washington issued statements on their return about "very good" relations and their U.S. ally's desire for "harmony and good cooperation."

However, this is not at variance with the emergence of objective difficulties and different interests on certain questions. People here usually note differences of opinion in connection with the elaboration of the long-awaited new NATO concept on questions of security and disarmament and with assessments of and approaches to the Soviet initiatives, the new political thinking, and the distribution of intra-NATO "burdens." Lastly, people talk about the United States' alarm in connection with the approach of the EEC countries' formation of a single internal market. These questions were raised to varying degrees during Baker's conversations with FRG leaders.

The press reports that Washington has already decided in principle to create a new missile system to replace the "Lance." But the ruling coalition does not want to make life difficult for itself by immediately agreeing to this modernization without taking the population's sentiments and election considerations into account. Attempts to exert pressure on this question both from the outside and from certain circles within the country have obviously misfired.

But at the same time Bonn is continuing to maneuver. People say that "there can be no question" of a "third zero," that is, the elimination of tactical nuclear missile weapons in Europe. They indicate that the NATO concept being elaborated must define which nuclear weapons are to remain as " deterrents" on the FRG's territory. If you can't get by without missiles, then you can't get by without modernizing them. But I think that Bonn's effort to overcome its former zeal in arms plans, its increasing circumspection, and its consideration for the positive factors in new European and international developments are to its credit.

FRG Parliamentarians Visit USSR 5-10 Feb

PM1502095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guests From the FRG"]

[Text] A delegation of Bundestag deputies from the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] headed by K. Fuchs, member of this party's board and member of the SPD-CPSU working group on questions of building a "common European home," was in our country 5-10 February at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

The guests were received at the CPSU Central Committee International Department, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Defense Ministry. In the course of

the conversations the essence of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries' military doctrines and questions of reducing conventional armed forces and arms in Europe were discussed.

Before leaving Moscow the parliamentarians held a news conference 10 February for Soviet and foreign journalists, at which they highly evaluated the results of their visit.

Belgian-Luxembourg Delegation Leader on Visit
PM1402160789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Belgium-USSR: Potential for Cooperation"]

[Text] Brussels, 11 Feb—The results of the 14th session of the Intergovernmental Joint Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union held in Moscow have been rated highly by Willy Claes, head of the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union delegation and Belgian vice prime minister and minister of economic affairs and planning. Speaking at a news conference here, he stressed that the processes taking place in the Soviet Union are opening up new opportunities to develop mutually beneficial cooperation in many spheres.

Enormous changes are under way in the USSR, he said. We have seen this for ourselves in our numerous conversations with representatives of the most diverse circles. The frankness with which Soviet officials discuss various problems makes a very great impression. In Claes' opinion, glasnost has become irreversible in the Soviet Union at all levels.

At the same time the minister noted that serious obstacles still lie on the path of expanding cooperation with Western countries. The economic reform being pursued in the USSR and, in particular, the switching of enterprises to self-financing, their increased responsibility for what they produce, and the increasing role played by market relations could help remove them.

The head of the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union delegation pointed out that there is great potential for developing trade and economic relations between the two countries. This includes the equalizing of the foreign trade balance and new forms of cooperation, such as the setting up of joint ventures. Belgium also favors the extensive development of EEC-CEMA ties, he stressed.

Swedish Claims of Submarine Violations Rebutted
PM1502095389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Marat Zubko: "Periscope Disease"]

[Text] Well here we are again! Highly flammable fuel has been splashed on the almost extinguished bonfire of the Swedes' periscope experiences by Vice Admiral Bengt Schubach, commander of the Swedish Navy, "himself." "Swedish waters," he said, addressing a conference of the "People and Defense" organization, "are being violated by Soviet submarines." Of course, the Swedish press immediately reared its head again....

I must admit I would rather not write articles about the vitality of the stereotypes of the "image of the enemy," but there's nothing I can do; I must.

...I do not know where the man who was the first to let loose in Scandinavia the virus of the "periscope disease" lives and works. I can only say that in my view he was possessed of diabolical subtlety.

Actually, the "periscope syndrome" arose not in Sweden, but in Norway. It was back in the sixties. I have no precise information as to how many times the alarm was sounded in the land of the fjords. I only have the figures of Norwegian Rear Admiral R. Breivik, who announced in early 1983 that in the previous 10 years alone submarines had appeared 226 times (!) in Norwegian waters. These 226 alarms mean 226 noisy campaigns aimed primarily against the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries. Understandably, their numbers have grown considerably since then.

In the early seventies one strange characteristic was noted in the timing of these campaigns: They would flare up at moments which were particularly delicate for the military authorities—either before the discussion of the defense ministry's budget in parliament or before the making of important decisions concerning Norway's membership in NATO.

The scenario for the "underground fox hunt" was elaborated back in Norway. Someone somewhere would "notice" a periscope in a fjord and it would all begin.... Warships went into the attack mode, helicopters soared into the sky, antisubmarine nets were installed in the fjords, depth charges were dropped, and in the newspapers and on the television screens these blasts found an echo in the no less noisy propaganda volleys against the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries.

When the necessary decisions had been made,the back pages of the Norwegian newspapers reported briefly in small print that the alarms had been false, that it was either the leg of a floating upturned table or the trunk of a half submerged tree which had been taken for a periscope, or that the radar had suddenly gone wrong, mistaking... shoals of herring for a submarine. The press and public of a number of countries frankly ridiculed these ploys, and then periscopes began to appear less frequently in the Norwegian fjords. But soon they managed to infect Sweden with the disease. The antisubmarine fever began to shake not only the Swedes but the Norwegians with new force.

Of course, this campaign was taken up by the mass media of other Western states, where there were forces which tried to heat the atmosphere still further.

For instance, the book "Soviet Submarine Operations in Swedish Waters 1980-1986" prepared by the Center for Strategic and International Studies was published in 1987. Its main theses are that since 1980 Soviet submarines have violated Swedish waters on hundreds of occasions; these actions are of a blatantly insolent nature; the Soviets are preparing an attack on military establishments on the Swedish coast and on the Swedish Navy; Soviet submarines are also violating the territorial waters of other countries—Finland, Norway, Denmark, Italy, and Japan.

One Swede—Wilhelm Agrell, who considers himself "a researcher into questions of peace and conflicts"—has thought up something absolutely staggering. According to him there are hundreds of special soldiers in the USSR who are sent to Sweden on submarines to prepare... assassination attempts against statesmen, bombings of important establishments, in particular communications centers, radio stations, and so forth.

It seems to me that a whole generation has already grown up in Sweden which probably sincerely believes that the Soviet Union is the pernicious country that sends submarines to the Swedish skerries and can therefore in no way be trusted. Here is a small but characteristic example: At the USSR Embassy in Stockholm I once met a large group of Swedish schoolchildren aged 12-13. They were already putting on their coats to leave.

"What did they come for?" I asked a diplomat I knew.

"What for? They asked for a meeting to talk about the Soviet Union's economic development and spent 2 hours asking us questions about why our spy submarines are violating Swedish waters...."

I can well understand the feelings Swedes and Norwegians have when they are told about foreign submarines. We ourselves have experienced something similar: Remember the violations of our country's territorial waters by U.S. submarines in the Crimean region? It is true that our anger was somewhat mitigated by the fact that the uninvited guests were "driven" into the international part of the Black Sea. It is worse for the Swedes and Norwegians: They have been tested for many years but they completely fail to catch the mysterious submarines.

But many puzzling questions arise if you look at things this way. Above all, the following question: Why are all or almost all the violations ascribed to the Soviet Union or its Warsaw Pact allies? I have frequently taken part in discussions with Swedes and Norwegians on this topic, so I know their arguments well. As a whole they come down to three positions.

1.Who still stands to gain from this?
2.The military has proof.
3.Do you remember 1981? Whose submarine ran aground not far from a military base in South Swedish waters?

Let's look at these arguments.

First: It only seems initially that it must be the socialist countries carrying out underwater surveillance in the waters of neutral Sweden. Let's take a look at the following information from the ABC television company: Back in 1984 it described how the Pentagon, with the aid of the small "NR 1" deep submergence vehicles, was carrying out in the waters of other countries, "even friendly countries," a study of fairways, port installation defense systems, underwater obstacles, and signaling.

Why could Sweden and Norway not be among these countries?

Quite recently, in January 1989, the influential Swedish newspaper DAGENS NYHETER also drew attention to NATO's interest in Swedish waters. In Kiel (FRG), the newspaper asserts, there are based 24 West German modern submarines whose mission includes operations east of the Danish Bornholm Island. The depth of Kiel Bay is insufficient for reliable cover so during potential hostilities the submarines will have to be moved to "the Eastern part of the Baltic, that is the Swedish skerries," the newspaper surmises. But to use the skerries you have to know them, is that not so?

Let's think again about the question of who stands to gain. If our submarines were really conducting operations in Swedish waters, what would the Soviet side gain? Some information of a military and temporary nature, since it rapidly becomes obsolete. And what could it lose? Incomparably more! The undermining of trust in the USSR, for one thing. Possible changes in the military strategic situation in northern Europe as a result of Sweden's shift toward NATO, for another. A worldwide scandal if one submarine was actually caught for yet another. Is it not clear that gain and loss here are absolutely disproportionate quantities!

But some people, frankly disregarding the Soviet side's repeated statements that our submarines come no closer than 30 km to Swedish shores, are constantly throwing up the idea that the violators must be dressed in the uniform of Soviet submariners. So perhaps this idea comes from those people who are interested in pushing Sweden from its neutral course and simultaneously discrediting the USSR's policy?

Second: Yes, some members of the Swedish military assert that the Soviet Union is behind the violations. When they speak of their position, they refer primarily to the report they prepared in 1983 in which the main charge is that a Soviet submarine "left tracks on the sea bed."

I admit that it is hard for me to argue: I am not a military man and in addition I have no information for assessing the data which the Swedish admirals possess. But I should like to draw attention to two points.

First of all, I recall that in February 1984 the British Vice Admiral Ian McGeoch wrote an article in the Stockholm newspaper AFTONBLADET under the heading "Sweden Suffers From the Periscope Disease." McGeoch is an authoritative man: He led the actions of NATO submarines in the East Atlantic and was responsible for questions of submarine defense. He has considered as frivolous the chief thesis of the Swedish military's report.

"I was shown photographs of so-called tracks on the sea bed," he wrote. "When I asked whether Swedish submarines operated in this region, I was told they did. On these grounds I concluded that these tracks could have been left by the keel or propeller screws of a Swedish submarine which had passed close to the bottom. If there is no tidal ebb or flow these tracks can remain for months or even years. In addition, these tracks could have been left by anchors (stones) used to hold buoys, trawls, or other objects."

One more fact which, in my view, is of fundamental importance: Over all these years of chasing after submarines not one has been caught!

If we are to believe the Swedish military's statements, the mysterious violators have frequently been in a checkmate situation: On the basis of what the military has said, newspapers and television have shown maps of those sectors of the skerries where the violator submarine was located and which were literally blocked with hunter ships and antisubmarine nets. It was said that the helicopter submarine detectors had lowered into the water cables that "established contact with submarines." A seemingly hopeless situation for the uninvited guests, but even under these conditions no one was successfully captured!

So perhaps there was no submarine of any kind and the whole bally-hoo was needed merely to justify the designs of those who would like to push Sweden from its neutral course?

Or else there were submarines but they were of a nationality which they preferred not to declare? A similar incident occurred in Norway in 1970! At the time a hunt was also under way there for a submarine which everyone said was Soviet and whose task was allegedly to land a subversive group deep inside Hardangerfjord. The chase was unsuccessful, and Norwegians were told that "the Soviet seamen were able to leave for the open sea." The conservative MORGENBLADET wrote: "Everyone knows it was a Soviet submarine."

But 14 years later the communist newspaper FRIHETEN was able to prove that the submarine had nonetheless been blocked inside the fjord and hand grenade signals were used to order it to surface. And what happened? The vessel was French! They let it go and then ordered those taking part in the capture to keep quiet. So perhaps something similar is happening in the Swedish skerries?

Third: Yes, in 1981 Soviet submarine No 137 did indeed find itself in the waters of southern Sweden and ran aground not far from the Karlskrona military base. A regrettable incident, there's no denying. The Soviet side gave the Swedes a detailed explanation of the incident: Navigation equipment on board the submarine had failed and it had been driven off course. When you talk about this with Swedish people you can see a flash of irony in their eyes. We know the value of such words, they seem to say.

But you only have to ask your interlocutors to consider the situation in more detail for their attitude to change. For instance, to ask them to appraise the following point: The submarine ran aground ABOVE WATER and it was traveling by night. The noise from a submarine with a diesel engine at night time can be heard many kilometers away, so to believe that the No 137 submarine was carrying out surveillance is tantamount to suggesting going behind enemy lines on a roaring steam locomotive.

But the trouble is that in the majority of discussions in Sweden it was the simplest logic that operated: Run aground? Not far from a base? That means it was spying. And since one violation has occurred, why can the Russians not be involved in other incursions? It is this very simple reasoning which stalks the pages of the Swedish newspapers. They did not want to heed rational voices. Yet that same British vice admiral wrote in AFTONBLADET:

"While I was in Stockholm I studied a map of the Gasefjarden and concluded that it was utterly implausible that the No 137 submarine would have been there deliberately fulfilling any planned mission. It had run aground in too shallow waters, ruling out the possibility of diving. No rational person would believe that a submarine would be sent to a region where it could not dive. Why would a submarine be needed at all in that case? Submarine No 137 had obviously gone off course because of a fault in its gyrocompass and had strayed for many hours before running aground."

Recently more sober and cautious assessments have appeared in Swedes' statements. Thus, at the same time as the statement by Swedish naval commander Vice Admiral Bengt Schubach which began this article ("Swedish waters are being violated by Soviet submarines") a news conference was addressed by defense Chief of Staff Torsten Engberg, who said: "We have no indisputable proof" to accuse any specific country. Swedish Foreign Minister S. Andersson has also expressed regret in connection with B. Schubach's statement.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Addresses Moscow Industrial Workers

LD1402231889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at opening of meeting of industrial workers at the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow 14 February; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] In opening our meeting in the party Central Committee, I would like, first of all, to cordially welcome you, as representatives of the country's working class. I know that you have come here from all republics and that you represent all our major regions and industrial centers of the country. I think that you have things to say to the party Central Committee, but first of all, I cordially welcome you on behalf of the Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government.

Taking account of the moment, the period, and perhaps even the time we are living through, when restructuring has gone out into the wide open spaces and onto the main road and now affects all of society, all of us both in the center and in the localities, of course, we are faced with many major new problems. There is much that is new. Look at the atmosphere, at the way the democratic processes are developing, at the forms that glasnost and the exchange of opinions are taking. Look at the way economic life in enterprises is being organized and how processes are developing, how everything is changing there on the basis of the fact that economic reform is now embracing all enterprises. Solutions are being sought. The principles exist, but each enterprise is a unique and unrepeatable organism, and the general principles must be applied with wisdom, in practice, and with good sense, taking the real situation into account, taking into account what the various collectives possess, taking into account the difficulties and opportunities, qualifications and mood, and the economic state of affairs. This is by no means simple.

Political reform is now developing in exactly the same way, you see. This is only its first stage, which embraces the changes we have made to the constitution and the new electoral law, on the basis of which we are holding elections for USSR peoples deputies. We have so many new things here. It is a totally different life which we have not experienced before, and now we are all looking, weighing it up, assessing everything to see what it means, whether everything is all right, whether it is turning out as we expected. It is clear that there is much that is unexpected, but we must get to the bottom of it all. For it is a question of the fate of the country.

Those who will be at the Supreme Soviet congress will decide questions, adopt new laws reflecting our contemporary life, and create the prerequisites to ensure that the process of restructuring should gather strength. We envision restructuring as a very major direction of our work, as a complete transition from the present state of society to a new state. We laid the emphasis on ensuring that in this society, which is renewing itself, the individual should really be the focal point; all of his problems, concerns and all of his life should become the focus. From this stems the new social policy, from this stems the creation of an atmosphere in which the individual should feel really confident and free in our society.

Naturally, everything can be decided through the human being himself, through his position. Restructuring will misfire if the human being is not the main protagonist. That is why we have the reform, so that through democratic processes the working people will be brought up to all the levels of power, real power. And that is why there is democratization and glasnost, to improve the health of our society, to make it more humane, to free ourselves from all the accretions that burden life and in some cases set sections of people against each other.

Overall, it is about simple things—about conscience, decency, conscientiousness, responsibility, comradely attentiveness, care.

Just imagine, say it for real, with a feeling as if you have a lump in your throat: We in the 70th year of our revolution are returning to the original values. That is all, as we understand it here in the Central Committee, so this kind of talk is what we need, what we need very badly now.

I must say that previous experience has taught us a great deal. We would not have the present policy of restructuring—it can be criticized, it has its weaknesses, but it is in the main aimed at those tasks and those targets we all need, and it is entirely aimed at the human being—we would not have been able to formulate this policy if we had not regularly had in those years, in the first years, consultations, conversations, numerous conversations with the working people. Of course, in this huge choir of opinions we have always attached special significance to the opinion of the working class, to the decisive force of our society, the most populous class, on whose position the fate of any policy really depends. The fact that today the policy of restructuring has been adopted by the working class and all working people alike confirms that we did the right thing in sparing no forces at that stage to listen to people's opinion and to tell people the truth about our society.

This open and direct exchange about our society, about the accumulated problems, initially flabbergasted everyone. I tell you, even we did not know everything—even those sitting next to you—not everything, and even now we do not yet know everything and understand what it is all about.

Nevertheless, we have been able to crystallize from this exchange—it has to be said, this most lively exchange, which is actually continuing—these conclusions which we have laid at the foundation of the policy of restructuring. But the present is special. As I have already said, restructuring has now gone into practice and is being tested by life itself. These are different things. It is difficult to elaborate the correct policy; this is no simple work, and no easy occupation. Nevertheless, I think that the party—society—has succeeded in formulating such a policy. This is the great gain of the first stage, but now we see how difficult the new task is, at the new stage, when this policy has to be put into practice. Its progress is varied; not everything is simple or painless. Moreover, all of life is under tension, both economic and social life, both in the labor collectives and in the party.

This is probably understandable, because our concerns have increased, because if we want to live differently, to reach new horizons, we have to change our positions, our views, and our attitude to the business at hand, and our ways of working, and our methods; we have to become different people. Well, what is life? It is not the sort of thing that is served up on a plate; it is new ways of organizing all of life—economic, social, and political—which are generated by people themselves. We have formulated the prerequisites on which we have to create this new life together with you, with our own hands. We do not have any textbooks. No textbooks.

There are basic principles. We are in favor of socialism. We will strengthen and develop that system. We believe in it. That is a system for the working people. This means that we are in favor of socialist property, in favor of revealing the potential of the economy and the social system on the basis of it. We are in favor of power really being in the hands of the working people. We are in favor of broad democracy, a sense of responsibility, and discipline. Everything here is clear. These are the main criteria.

Voices are resounding which you know, in analyzing the past, are going so far as to cast doubt on those fundamental values. The party is firmly of the opinion that this is unacceptable, and we know that the working class takes these stands particularly steadfastly. Socialism is our system, and we will stand up for it. That is the main thing, comrades. What is more, since our country is huge and hundreds of peoples, ethnic minorities and nationalities live in it, in resolving the tasks of restructuring we should always remember that as well. But he who now, under conditions of democracy and restructuring, does not understand that precisely within the framework of restructuring we will resolve those issues as well, loses his way and heads forward on the wrong paths, and in any case pronounces slogans we now have to condemn.

Restructuring will help in dealing with all questions, including those within the framework of relations among the nationalities. It will bring harmony to relations both among peoples and republics and people of all nationalities. I think we should disregard those who—at this time of major changes from which we expect considerable results—wish to force strange ideas on us about our society, the society in which we want to see qualitative progress.

If we acknowledge all that, those main points of departure, then all that remains is a subordinate question. Time is needed, intellect is needed, experience is needed. We probably will not manage it without a few knocks and bangs. You and I already know about that. We are already aware not only of the problems we have inherited from the past, we are aware of our own negligence, mistakes, shortcomings. We must also talk about that, comrades. Today that is perhaps the most important thing. We have, you see, appraised the past, have formulated the present policy and learned lessons from the past. Now we must implement that new policy with few losses and greater efficiency. So, comrades, we must talk about what worries us most of all, how to make things better, how to get things going so at this new stage in implementing the policy of restructuring we do not get bogged down and do not make a mess of things.

The first conclusion from 1988—and there from halfway through the year work progressed on a larger scale—is that in general the present existing difficulties with respect to restructuring, which we have come across at the beginning of the second stage, must still be resolved, and not by stopping, not by turning back. We must go forward, we must more resolutely conduct a policy aimed at restructuring and economic and political reform. We must introduce order in the country, make society healthier.

It seems to us that this is the correct conclusion, but you will probably express your opinion. I want to invite you to express yourselves. I do not want to make other questions concrete and distract you, so to speak. Our task, the main thing, is to listen to you, and to have fewer speeches from up here behind this table. So I invite you to talk, to have exchanges. Here are two hands already. Yes, there are. Good.

Gorbachev's Closing Speech

LD1402235189 Moscow Televison Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Closing speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at meeting with industrial workers at the CPSU Cenyral Committee in Moscow 14 February; from the Vremya newscast—recorded]

[Text] The main thing for us at present is to revive Lenin's concept of socialism. That is correct. At that time everything was said, as the comrade was correct to remind us. [video shows Gorbachev gesturing to a person in the audience] Probably people were saying that perhaps the general secretary has forgotten, he and his

comrades in the political leadership: power to the workers, land to the peasants, peace for the people. Everything is clear and simple. This all still remains. But look how the processes developed: we got rid of private property, but we brought in the sort of systems of management that raised the power of the bureaucracy of management and of all sorts of rule, and tore the workers away from the means of production. What was the revolution in aid of? To make him the master, not according to the Constituition, not only as a norm, but to ensure that he really was in charge, and was thinking and caring how to use it efficiently.

I think that restructuring is gaining strength while the people are displaying increasing exactingness, and it is good that the workers are very supportive with their principled standpoints and their work. These things are no less important, comrades, either of them. One must have a stong standpoint and not yield, because there are a lot of innovations; restructuring is throwing out a lot of all sorts of things, and some people are starting to panic and wanting to turn back the tide. It is not only that we cannot go back. We cannot even stop. On the contrary, we must move ahead further and more firmly, but it is still important that apart from these standpoints the workers are doing a lot, and are holding tight at this breakthrough stage, when everything is in play—pluralism of views, glasnost and old command methods still being preserved, financial authonomy in progress, with old prices and new prices and contracts, and the market situation.

Yet people are accepting these hardships of the transitional period, most difficult ones. This is the most difficult period, when we are interpreting and already doing a lot. But comrades, restructuring can exist, and provide success, if after posing and analyzing the problems there follows constructive, hard, energetic, lively work, resolute restructuring. I must say that—I have already said it once, and I repeat—some people, both collectives and our press, have been delayed at the endless meeting stage. Let us make a lot of noise, people and some people have already made a lot of noise. There has already been enough of our negligence in the years of restructuring. You rightly said that. For that reason it is now time for truly practical work. Attention must be given to this by the labor collectives, the management organs, the party organs, and the mass media. Our party has at its disposal great potential, and it has proved that it is a sort of mature force, capable of withstanding all these trials and of taking on responsibility for everything that has happened in the country. It has proposed a policy and it will defend that policy, and we hope, comrades, for the support of the working class. It is the working class's party and it conducts its ideology and must conduct it. The fact there have been these distortions: we will cast them aside. We proceed from this, and we believe that the concern here today here on this question, which was heard from your side, means you are concerned for the fate of the party, the fate of the country, the fate of socialism. It is your party. It is our party. [applause]

[Video shows Gorbachev addressing meeting. During the address the camera shifts from shots of the speaker to shots of the audience and the platform. Seated on the platform are, among others—front row left to right on screen—Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Gorbachev, Ligachev, Zaykov, Slyunkov—back row left to right on screen—Shevardnadze, Nikonov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, Yazov, Baklanov, Vlasov, Lukyanov. Chebrikov and Maslyukov are out of sight, but Chebrikov was shown on entering the platform. During the announcement of the list of speakers, brief video clips were shown of each of them]

TASS Reports Workers' Meeting

LD1402105889 Moscow TASS in English 1014 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—TASS correspondents report:

A meeting of Soviet party leaders with workers of different Soviet industries and from various parts of the Soviet Union started at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on Tuesday morning.

The party leaders include Mikhail Gorbachev, Lev Zaykov, Yegor Ligachev, Vadim Medvedev, Viktor Nikonov, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Nikolay Slyunkov, Viktor Chebrikov, Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Vlasov, Anatoliy Lukyanov, Yuriy Maslyukov, Georgiy Razumovskiy, Nikolay Talyzin, Dmitriy Yazov and Oleg Baklanov.

This meeting is part of a direct dialogue started recently by Soviet party and government leaders with various social groups, including creative intelligentsia, scientists and farmers.

Over the past few months the Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has received scientists, cultural workers, young people as well as directors of state and collective farms. They discussed all currently debated issues: How to develop perestroyka and improve the life of people, as well as what from the past experience should now be abandoned and what should be used for the benefit of restructuring.

Sakharov Withdraws Nonacademy Candidacies

LD1502091689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0827 GMT 15 Feb 89

["Statement by Academician Andrey Sakharov"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Feb (TASS)—Academician Andrey Sakharov has withdrawn his agreement to stand in all constituencies where he had been nominated as candidate people's deputy of the USSR. This is reported in his statement, which was published today by MOSCOW NEWS.

Andrey Sakharov explained his decision by the fact that on 18 January at an expanded plenum of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, all candidates "known for their active public position" nominated by the scientific collectives of the academy had been rejected. Among the rejected candidacies was that of Sakharov, which was supported by 55 institutes. The following week, Sakharov's candidacy was put forward at meetings of the working collectives and residents in many constituencies.

The academician's statement says: "I feel myself indissolubly linked with the academy, of which I have been a member for 35 years. I have come to the conclusion that in the new elections I must be a candidate of the academy itself or not be one at all. Therefore, I am making the decision not to stand anywhere except at the USSR Academy of Sciences, and I am withdrawing my agreement to stand in all the territorial and national-territorial constituencies in which I have been nominated.

"I ask all those who have shown trust in me to understand the motives for my decision, which is aimed at supporting the wishes of the academy's scientific workers. I call on all those who were intending to vote for me to cast their votes for the genuine and consistent supporters of restructuring."

Andrey Sakharov's decision has been supported by Academician Roald Sagdeyev. "I have total understanding for Sakharov's decision to link not only his scientific activity but also his political participation in restructuring with the aspirations and hopes of thousands of scientific workers," he writes in MOSCOW NEWS.

A number of scientists do not approve of Sakharov's position. "Andrey Sakharov's election platform contains a whole series of serious proposals and one cannot imagine that the author of such a platform should not be part of the election campaign," doctor of technical sciences German Zagaynov thinks.

Scientists' Protests Reported

PM1402170289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 7, 12 Feb 89 p 14

[Andrey Borodenko article: "'Our Opinion Was Ignored'"]

[Text] This phrase can often be heard from scientists and staff at various academic institutes, especially during the last two weeks, since the moment the nominees for people's deputies of the USSR from the USSR Academy of Sciences were announced.

Let me remind you. More than 60 institutes supported the nomination of Andrey Sakharov; more than 30—that of Roald Sagdeyev; about 20—Dmitriy Likhachev; and about 30 on the whole—Gavriil Popov and Nikolay Shmelev (on this parameter none of the present candidates could vie with them). Nevertheless, none of the candidates collected enough votes to actually be nominated at the plenary meeting of the Academy's presidium.

A question arose: What weight in the destiny of science was carried by the words of those who actually determined its face and its present-day level, by the opinion of the workers of academic institutes? Dozens of protests sent to the Central and Academic Election Commissions yielded no results. And then the scientists gathered for a meeting. Its date (February 2) and time (from 1 to 2 pm) were determined by the authorities who sanctioned the meeting.

Half an hour before the start a crowd already gathered at the gates of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, decorated by the alabaster lions so familiar to Muscovites. But if one is permitted to say that a crowd can be "organized", it was exactly that kind of a crowd: the new arrivals busily unfolded posters and raised them above their heads. It immediately became clear what kind of institute it was and what its workers wanted. I counted more than 30 posters representing people from different institutes. A thousand-strong crowd chanted: "We don't trust the presidium!" "Sakharov and Sagdeyev—for deputies!" "Listen to the voice of the institutes!"

Incidentally, those who visualize the situation solely from the newspaper publications of recent weeks could see the goings-on as outrageous. However greatly the assessments of the elections at the Academy might fluctuate, all of them were with a plus sign. Perhaps IZVESTIYA alone voiced its bewilderment at the odd failure to nominate precisely those who had been supported by a vast number of research collectives.

What was said at the meeting? The vagueness of some provisions in Soviet Law gave the Academy's leadership an opportunity to choose—either to meet the scientific community halfway, to draw on its will in nominating candidates or, as usual, to take advantage of its privileged position and distribute the mandates at its own discretion. After all, both choices are within the framework of the Law. The participants in the meeting were agitated over not a legal, but a moral question. It was this—the moral assessment of the nomination results—that was the keynote of their speeches.

"The gap between the laboratory workers and the administrators of science appeared a long time ago, but only now have we been able to see how deep it is."

"Now it is absolutely clear that the Academy is a government department...."

As a consequence, almost every speaker voiced the need to set up a fundamentally new, alternative academy—a Union of Scientific Workers.

Our correspondent asked Academician Roald Sagdeyev to give his assessment of the situation.

"All that is happening at the Academy has thrown light on an old disease—a gap formed during the stagnation era between the privileged, titled part of the Academy—academicians and corresponding members—and those who make science today. It would be naive to ascribe the results of the election campaign to the imperfect nature of the Academy's Charter. Being practically the same as in many other countries, it may be not so bad in cases when we elect a new group of 'immortals' to our ranks. But when it comes to political acts, especially such as nominating candidates to the country's highest body of authority, there must be no privileges for acedemicians and corresponding members. Today some leaders of the Academy, followed by the mass media, are peddling this thought as if by way of consolation: 'Well, they have not been nominated there.' But these are not horse races, where a so-called consolation race exists. What is at stake is the future of the state. The idea is to work out new, democratic principles of the electoral system. I flatly refuse to accept the situation where different categories of working people have different possibilities for nomination, some only along two channels whereas others, as some theorists have calculated, along more than a dozen. This is exactly why, politically, the question of renominating along other channels those rejected by the Academy is not a simple one. And what's more, there are milestones in history which cannot be forgotten. In 1964, Academician Andrey Sakharov opposed electing Trofim Lysenko's closest associate, Nuzhdin, an academician. And at that extremely difficult moment the academicians found the courage to vote against him. But in 1989, Andrey Sakharov was blackballed by them in the process of nominating candidates for people's deputies of the USSR. This will also go down in history."

The meeting ended with the adoption of resolutions. The main thing that follows from them: scientists do not intend to resign themselves to their candidates' defeat. They believe that there are at least two ways out. First, to address the already nominated candidates with a request to refuse from taking further part in the election campaign. And second, to call upon all the participants in the USSR Academy of Sciences' conference for the election of people's deputies—full members and corresponding members, electors from the collectives of academic institutions—not to take part in the voting and thereby secure repeat elections in conformity with the Law. The text of the resolutions has been handed in to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Valentin Falin Meets Electorate, Details Platform

LD1402142588 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] The head of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Valentin Falin, has held a meeting with the electorate as part of his campaign for the Soviet Union's supreme legislative body. He was nominated by the National Union of Friendship Societies with foreign nations and by the Rodina Organization dealing with people of Soviet descent living abroad. Speaking before activists of those organizations, Valentin Falin called for restoring the good name of socialism. More from Vitaliy Gurov:

Valentin Falin is 62 and a native of Leningrad. He started his working life as a turner at a lathe-building plant. Soon he entered the Moscow Institute of International Relations. Between 1970 and 1978 he served as the Soviet ambassador to West Germany. For the last few years, he headed the Soviet public press agency NOVOSTI before being promoted to the Central Committee a few months ago.

Valentin Falin said at the meeting that our times are more than times of renewal—they are times of moral purification. The highest assets of these times are honesty and a possibility to tell the truth, rather than what one would like you to tell. Valentin Falin went on saying that the current restructuring in the Soviet Union calls for dealing with many political, economic and cultural problems. The nation can hardly expect to solve them overnight. This is a complex process and there is little hope of easy success.

As the head of the Central Committee International Department, Valentin Falin touched upon international issues and focused on the crucial issue of peace. A nuclear holocaust, he said, can be prevented. Humankind is not predestined to perish in such a holocaust. The modern arms have become so destructive that they can no longer solve any of the states' contentions—they can only destroy life on earth. That's why disarmament must be a two-way process—no one can remain on the sidelines.

Valentin Falin was asked to comment on the Soviet Union's decision to send troops to Afghanistan 10 years ago. He was asked whether there were any guarantees that no such decision would be taken in the future. Our tragedy in the past, Valentin Falin said, was that many decisions were taken either by individuals or by groups of people behind closed doors. Often both the party and the government were excluded from decision making. Many decisions were prompted by caprices of some leaders. Today, by contrast, decision making is preceded by expert analysis. The future supreme governing body is to have committees on foreign policies and military affairs. The military committee will help take public opinion into account while drawing up military program, military cooperation plans and entire defense budgets [as heard].

[Announcer] A look at the election platform of Valentin Falin, the head of the International Department of the Communist Party Central Committee.

Comments on Proposed Press Law

LD1402181589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] As you know, a law on the press is being drawn up in our country. What should it be like? This is what Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, the famous

Soviet journalist who was a political observer for IZVESTIYA and chairman of the board of APN, said in reply to that question. Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin is now head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. He has been proposed as a candidate for USSR people's deputy from the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and the Rodina Society, and he expressed his view on the press law at a meeting with the electorate.

[Begin Falin recording] I would like to see a press law which is drawn up in a way to facilitate covering events with the maximum of authenticity. To do this, the widest possible access to the facts—facts concerning the past, the present, and future intentions—must be opened up for those working in the press. The second thing I would like to see in this law is a guarantee that a journalist's honesty, valour, and initiative are not punishable, guaranteeing the journalist against dishonesty, against prejudice and against bias, although, to be blunt, fulfilling this task will not be as easy as we would like.

As for international affairs journalists, we need to give the right to, or even impose a duty on, our journalists working in this field to express their own opinions—not to compulsorily laud what we do officially, but to express their own view; to express it responsibly, and not on the basis of emotion but on the basis of the facts or analysis of the facts; to express it in a form which is respectful but sufficiently concise and clear; and to express ideas which move on somewhat from current ideas: that is, predicting developments, and on the basis of that prediction, inviting new solutions and formulating new stances or searches for points of view which have not, for various reasons, yet been worked out. It seems to me that this is the duty of serious international affairs journalists. I think that we need to learn from international journalists in depicting in full color what we observe beyond our borders, not only our state borders but our ideological borders, too, in order to see something useful even in the bad, and in order not to restrict ourselves to black, but to strike a balance of some dark and some light. The times of black and white, not only in black and white television but also in writing, have long gone.

We are living in an era of a climate of many colors in the political, ideological and all other senses, and we must adapt as quickly as possible to this climate. Finally, we must write the truth about our friends. We must not seek our task solely as being to lavish compliments on them. Our real friends have no need of compliments; friends need honest words, well-intentioned words, but honest ones. This will never hurt them, and at times it will even help. The most important thing, therefore, is for us to learn from criticism directed at us. It is time not to see malevolence-first and foremost, but to look for rational thought. [end recording]

Lukyanov Attends Electoral Commission Session

LD1402215589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A routine session of the central electoral commission for election of USSR people's deputies took place in Moscow today in the House of Unions. It was proposed to district electoral commissions: to step up work to conduct pre-election measures, and first and foremost meetings between candidate deputies and voters in labor collectives and in places of residences; to provide candidates with equal opportunities to speak during the election campaign; to extensively explain legislation on the elections; and to strive for openness and glasnost during the conducting of pre-election measures. [passage omitted] Comrade Lukyanov took part in the commission session.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Party Officers on Tasks

PM1402160389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Revive Leninist Principles of Control"]

[Text] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference adopted a decision to set up new combined control and auditing organs in the party. Such organs were formed by way of an experiment in a number of kray and oblast party organizations and in Moscow and Kiev during the past report and election campaign.

The tasks of the new party organs were discussed 10 February at a meeting between L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and members of the Moscow City Party Organization Control and Auditing Commission Presidium and chairmen of the control and auditing commissions of the capital's rayon party organizations. B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, participated in the meeting.

The report by T.P. Arkhipova, chairman of the Moscow City Party Organization Control and Auditing Commission, and the speeches by other participants pointed out that the creation of control and auditing commissions is an important milestone in realizing the guidelines of the 19th CPSU Conference and in the process of the radical democratization of internal party life and the revival of Leninist principles of internal party control. The extensive powers vested in the control and auditing commissions and the involvement of experienced party cadres in their work are to help strengthen the principles of collective leadership of party organizations, eliminate existing mistakes and distortions, and prevent possible new ones.

L.N. Zaykov addressed the meeting. The fulfillment by control and auditing commissions of the duties entrusted to them, he pointed out, will make it possible to reliably ensure guarantees against manifestations of conservatism, subjectivism, arbitrariness, and demagoguery in the city party organization and successfully wage the struggle against bureaucratic distortions in the actions of party and state cadres, against their alienation from working people, for more profound democratization, and for conditions to be created for the irreversibility of restructuring.

Questions of internal party life must be at the forefront. Control and auditing commissions must react to cases of suppression of criticism, abuses of official position, and deviations from the requirements and norms of party life and party comradeship and wage a struggle to purge the party of everyone who disgraces the title of Communist. Control over the fulfillment of decisions of party and state organs by Communists must be stepped up, and exactingness for observance of party and state discipline must be enhanced.

Which problems should be tackled first of all to ensure that Muscovites derive benefit from the work of the newly elected party control organs? I believe that the unconditional fulfillment of the socioeconomic program for developing the city, enhancing people's well-being, and improving living conditions must be the main area, the core, and the objective of the work.

A corresponding comprehensive territorial-sectorial program—"Progress-95"—has been drawn up and begun to be fulfilled. Party raykoms must boundlessly enhance the responsibility of Communist leaders for the task entrusted to them and for implementing what is planned. Otherwise we will not make progress. This must also be monitored by the control and auditing commissions.

Party committees and control and auditing commissions must organize control work, arrange cooperation, and distribute forces in such a way that no component of the socioeconomic programs is overlooked by the party organization.

The standard of work will largely depend on how relations shape up right from the start between the control and auditing commissions and the party raykoms. They must be based on cooperation, and there must be no opposition on anything. Whereas the party raykom exercises political leadership, performs cadre work, and organizes the fulfillment of decisions, the control and auditing commission is called upon to expose and eliminate the causes which give rise to negative phenomena and carry out preventive work, being a checking, disciplinary organ.

The chief task is actively to galvanize the commissions' elected aktiv from the very outset. The control and auditing commissions must also preserve the nonstaff aktiv of the former party and auditing commissions and make extensive use of the right afforded them to recruit specialists to conduct checks and audits.

Only a few questions have been discussed today, L.N. Zaykov said in conclusion. Of course, new ones will arise in the future. We plan to submit them to conferences with your participation. I believe that the control and auditing commissions' sovereignty will not suffer from the joint discussion of problems, but that this will help the cause.

The chief thing is to accumulate good experience in time for the 28th party congress. I am sure that the joint work of party committees and control and auditing commissions will reveal a very important aspect of internal party relations which in many ways expresses their very essence—true party comradeship, coordination in the matter of restructuring all aspects of our life, and collectivism in all its aspects and manifestations.

Gas Explosion Wrecks Yerevan Apartment Block

PM1502102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA correspondent A. Sarkisyan report: "Is Gas Alone To Blame?"]

[Text] Yerevan—An apartment block in Armenia has been destroyed once again. Not in Leninakan or Spitak, but in Yerevan. Not a paneled block but one made of tufa, a firm, solid construction. The cause was not an earthquake but an explosion.

On the evening of 13 February at 2030 hours, when most of the tenants had returned to their apartments after work, a powerful explosion shattered part of the facade of a 5-story apartment block on Vagarshyan Street. Three stories linked by two flights of stairs were wrecked and the facade was ripped off like a curtain. Casualties have been reported. People are being urgently rehoused.

"The causes of the accident are still being ascertained," L. Arevshatyan, deputy chairman of the 26 Baku Commissars Rayispolkom, told me at the scene of the incident. "One thing is known: A buildup of gas in the basement detonated. A government commission has been set up. The prosecutor's office is conducting an investigation."

So once again we have a belated search for the guilty parties! Isn't it clear that we should take preventative measures? The main thing is, probably, to be conscientious and check the area for which one is responsible.

Four Dead From Explosion

NC1502113389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Armenpress report]

[Text] As has already been reported on 13 February 1989 (?two) explosions took place at 15 (Vagharshyan) Street in Yerevan. As a result of the explosion, 4 people died and 9 were hospitalized for various injuries; of these 3 were children. The first three stories of the two (?entrances) were destroyed.

A government commission is taking measures to help the victims. The cause of the explosion and the amount of the material damage are being studied.

Condolences Expressed to Families

NC1502140489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers have expressed deep condolences to the families, relatives, and kin of those who died and to all those who sustained damages in the gas explosion at 15 (Vagharshyan) Street on 13 February 1989.

The government commission that has been formed has been instructed to take all possible measures to uncover the explosion's causes and to help those who have sustained damages.

New Deputy Chairman of Armenian Ministers Council

NC1402123989 Yerevan ARMENPRESS International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Yerevan, 13 Feb ARMENPRESS—Vanik Mkrtich Dayan has been appointed deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers by decree of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Vanik Mkrtich Dayan was born in 1934. He is an Armenian. Since 1965 he has been a CPSU member. He graduated from Yerevan's K. Marx polytechnical institute. By specialization he is a technical engineer, and he is a candidate of technical sciences.

From 1957 to 1982 he worked as a master, deputy supervisor, and deputy chief of the carbide production unit, and as chief of the production unit, deputy chief of production and chief of production at the "NAIRI" scientific production unit of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry. From 1982 to 1985 he was the director of the Armenian "LIZIN" production unit attached to the USSR Council of Ministers.

Since 1985 he was the director of the "polyvinylacetate" production unit attached to the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

NKAO Committee Plans Cost Accounting System

PM1402165889 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 7, 12 Feb 89 p 5

[Aleksandr Kabakov dispatch: "Waiting. Is Regional Cost Accounting a Foundation for Changes in Nagorno-Karabakh?"]

[Text] Stepanakert—Two cliffs overhang the canyon. To the right is Shusha, a town where Azerbaijanians live today. To the left is Topkhana, an Armenian village.

The canyon between the cliffs is like a crack which divides the people living in Nagorno-Karabakh. It is a 20 minute drive from Stepanakert, the capital of the Autonomous Region. There is located the Special Administrative Rule Committee [SARC], an organ subordinate only to the country's central power. It has been operating for nearly three weeks already. What are the plans of the Committee and what is the average person in the street hoping for?

A girl carefully carrying several crimped boxes with eggs, entered the airplane in Yerevan. She hadn't been in Stepanakert for several months, but acquaintances had warned her that it was impossible to buy eggs in stores there. Butter and meat were being rationed. Only bread and sugar could be bought freely.

Armoured cars, with soldiers dressed in bullet-proof vests, patrol the road leading from the airport to Stepanakert. But there are no military machines in the city itself - the Special Administrative Rule Committtee for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, on the first day of its existence, decided that there was no need for it.

As it turned out, these first impressions rather accurately reflected the entire picture.

At the Karabakh silk mill, the workers have heated debates. They don't pick their words carefully, and not always think about their assessments. Of the 300 men and women workers at the second weaving shop, 44 people have not been coming to work for several months now. Mutual offences are expressed stormily in a women's collective. We managed to meet only women workers, because the only man there is the shop superintendent. Suraya Grigoryan, a woman weaver, a deputy to the Regional Soviet (its activities have been stopped due to the introduction of the Special Administrative Rule), says: "If Azerbaijanian women come to work no one would chase them out. We've even sent a car to Kirkidjan, a village where many of our workers live, but it was no use." Rimma Kocharyan feels differently: "If some of them do come to work, I'll leave." Then she begins speaking about her relatives who died in Sumgait and her voice shakes.

In all arguments, practically everyone agrees on one thing: the Special Administrative Rule is an important necessary and real step for dealing with Karabakh's main

problems. They also agree that much more could have been achieved if it had been introduced several months earlier. Today one can hear both hope and disbelief in the voices: "Is it true that we now obey Moscow directly? But how about production plans?"

At the same time, at the building of the Regional Party Committee, where the Special Administrative Rule Committee is working now, representatives of the local intelligentsia got together - teachers, journalists, actors and engineers. There were quite a few among them of those who were active in the movement for the NKAO (Russ. abbr. for the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Region) to join Armenia. They came here to meet with Susan Cornwell, a correspondent with Reuters. She was the first foreign journalist to get permission to visit Karabakh. Susan Cornwell was met by Arkadiy Volskiy, the Chairman of the Special Administrative Rule Committee. The mode of work of the Special Administrative Rule has turned out to be quite compatible with glasnost and openness.

People in Karabakh are sizing up the new power and are awaiting changes. But what can change tangibly in three weeks? Empty counters in foods stores; water appears in faucets only for an hour and a half a day; at schools the pupils sit three at a desk; and at kindergartens children sometimes sleep two to a bed. The occurrence of acute stomach infections in 2.5 times higher than the national average. This is data from medical statistics, and it is nothing surprising considering that there isn't a single industrial-sized refrigerator in the entire region! What is surprising is how they manage to preserve the food here. But then there is a shortage not only of material things. Not a single church is operating in the region. Therefore, the appeals to pardon offences have no place to find support.

Underground wealth used to be in excess here. Next to people, who lacked elementary living comforts, there lived businessmen from the shadow economy who dealt in hundreds of thousands of roubles and had high and far-off connections. Suffice it to say that the money confiscated after the arrest of one of them was enough to pay a month's wages to hundreds of people. Such large sums of money made the "godfathers" really powerful. The swindlers could compromise honest Karabakh people who had struggled to arouse the people's conscience.

All that is the reality with which the NKAO lived for years - nearly up to the introduction of the Special Administrative Rule.

Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administrative Rule Committee for the NKAO:

"I never saw anywhere in the country a region as neglected in all respects as this one. The Bagirov and Aliyev clans, and the leadership of Kevorkyan, the former first secretary of the local regional CPSU committee, have led the region to a horrible condition both economically and socially. There are no roads, not enough hospitals and it is very complicated with employment. As a result, last year 2,400 local residents left the region just to seek better living and earning conditions. I'm sure that precisely such a situation in the socio-ecoomic life became the backdrop against which all the old ethnic problems flared up. And I'm no less sure that only regional cost accounting can become a foundation on which it would be possible to start building new relations. And a system of major cost-accounting associations should, as I see it, become the foundation for the region's cost-accounting system."

Volskiy didn't get this idea yesterday. It is based on his many years of work as a leader in industry. Now, in the NKAO, the idea may be translated into reality.

A cost-accounting agricultural association must be really independent on those who love to dictate "when to sow, and when to reap". It will be related to the customers by normal market relations, and no one will be able to order around to an association which embraces the entire region. Agriculture will stop getting feverish from the "vacillations of the ruling line", through which, first, the vineyeards were enlarged, then they were destroyed, only to be planted again now.

In industry Volskiy expects to set up five or six cost-accounting enterprises, built up on the intrersectoral state concerns principle on the regional scope. They must be voluntary alliances of enterprises without any additional managing personnel. Such alliances will get a real power which would allow them to get free of petty guardianship, and their relations with the management organs will be reduced to interaction when selling output and purchasing new materials. Up till now this prospect can hardly enter a typical director's mind.

But the plan for the transformations has been elaborated and soon will start to be fulfilled. At the same time numerous accompanying ideas will also be realized. For example, the encouragement of those cooperatives which fulfil a complete production-sales cycle—from keeping a flock of sheep to selling shashlyk along the road. The liquidation of non-profitable enterprises and the setting up of small production centres in villages to absorb the surplus work force of already 10,000 people. Joint ventures with foreign companies will appear. A dam will be built which will make it possible to provide water to the city—today there is no water even in the hotel, at the rooms reserved for the leaders. And Karabakh will trade with its neighours. It will sell carpets, meat, juices and purchase electric power, metal and machines.

Arkadiy Volskiy: "At first our functioning here was a sort of mediation and peace-making effort. Now we're safe. The degree of our responsibility to the people for the results of our activities grows correspondingly.

It is cold and windy in Stepanakert. But at midday the bright sky reminds you that soon the winter will end. Stepanakert is living and awaiting a better future. Everywhere you look you may see evidence of some change.

A school stands nearly opposite the building where the SARC is working. The school is not working—cracks have appeared in its walls—an echo of the earthquake in Spitak. This resonance of the Armenian tragedy does not surprise anyone here. Neither does the fact surprise anyone that next to the school stands a plush giant—the house of political education, it is called here a monument to the epoch of Kevorkyan. It was the least visited building in the city. Now it houses soldiers; later, children will be in it.

The curfew is still in force, but it has been reduced—it is only from 1 a.m. to 5 a.m. Volskiy is sure that it will be possible to abolish it altogether soon. All sorts of shows and recreations have been allowed already, and an ad for a football match is posted, but the streets are pretty empty. The counters at the market are also empty, but the cooperativs are doing a fairly lively trade. There is much talk at plants about cost accounting, but no one knows anything for sure, and they are waiting for specific instructions. To deal with the region's social problems 400 million roubles was given from central sources, but you can hear in the city: "We dont't want so much, we're not hungry—we're offended."

And life continues. The election campaign—an unprecedented one, with a struggle and expressions of real sympathies or anti-sympathies—is going on in the NKAO, just as it is in the rest of the contry. In the constituency which includes the entire NKAO and five adjacent districts of Azerbaijan and has about 150,000 Armenians and as many Azerbaijanians, Arkadiy Volskiy was nominated a candidate. His name was mentioned at dozens of meetings. I think this can also be regarded as an indication of the people's attitude also to the Committee for Special Administrative Rule.

Today, the Committee and its chairman are inspiring confidence even in people of different ethnic groups and ideas who have no confidence for each other as yet. The people are waiting and very much want to hope for the better.

Military Commandant Says Peace Prevails in Baku

NC1302184189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Notice by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, Military Commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Peace continues to prevail in the city. The internal affairs organs continue to take the measures required for maintaining the established rules.

The employees of the internal affairs department named after the 26 Baku Commissars have instituted administrative charges against (?Avshar oglu Emre), who [words indistinct].

[Three names and titles indistinct] were arrested by the [name indistinct] district internal affairs department on grounds that they stole a vehicle registered as (?BAZ 216-3759 AG) on 10 February. The matter is being investigated.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, Military Commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Baku Commandant Interviewed on Special Situation

PM1402140789 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview in Baku with Lieutenant General M.P. Kolesnikov, commandant of the Baku Special Region, by A. Kyazimzade under the rubric "Meeting For You": "Commandant of the Special Region"—date unspecified; first five paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The sentry carefully studied my identity card, then spoke with someone on the telephone, and only after this briefly nodded and said: "Proceed."

I walked down a long corridor, introduced myself to the duty warrant officer in the reception room, and, stepping into the office, greeted a tall, broad-shouldered man wearing general's uniform.

What else struck me? Two enormous maps of Baku. One covered an entire wall, while the other lay on a table and was being "pored over" by two officers, talking quietly together.

"Let's not disturb them," the general said quietly, inviting me into a small room with a bed, made with military neatness, a small table, two chairs, and a massive safe. "You have my attention."

... It was not idle curiosity, of course, that had brought me to Lieutenant General M.P. Kolesnikov. Many questions for the military commandant have accumulated in the editorial mail.

[Kyazimzade] Mikhail Petrovich, I hope my first question will not seem strange.... Believe me, very many of our readers want to know why firearms are being confiscated from citizens.

[Kolesnikov] In line with the decision to introduce a special situation in Baku, all types of firearms and edged weapons, including hunting weapons covered by properly drawn up licenses, are liable to confiscation. We announced this in the very first days of operations by the military commandant's office, and I am satisfied to say that the population understood and supported us.

I may have the figures wrong, but not by much. To date, more than 80 percent of all firearms registered in Baku have been handed in.

Sometimes, using operational information or during inspections of vehicles, we also find weapons that have not been handed in in a timely manner. True, in 99 cases out of 100 these have been hunting rifles.

Certain people—and there has been information about this in the press—have tried to make their own firearms and explosive devices. Each of these cases is being investigated...

[Kyazimzade] Could you be more specific and tell us where these incidents have occurred?

[Kolesnikov] In Baku, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and the Zakataly and Sheki region. To be more specific, these homemade explosive devices are typical not so much of Baku as of Nagorno-Karabakh and Sheki.

In Sheki, incidentally, when those well known events connected with the attack on the prosecutor's office and the internal affairs department took place, a hunting store was robbed, with all the attendant consequences. Thanks to prompt investigative measures, most of the stolen weapons have been retrieved, of course.

[Kyazimzade] There is something else that is not quite clear: On what grounds do you—the military commandant—sometimes order people who are strictly civilians—ispolkom chairmen, the leaders of ministries, departments, organizations, and institutions, for example—to do such-and-such by a time appointed by you? What is the jurisdiction of such orders?

[Kolesnikov] The military commandant has full authority by virtue of the fact that a state of emergency has been introduced in the Baku City Special Region. At the same time, I feel I must stress that the experience of the special situation in Baku city, in this complex region, on such a scale, in such a vast population center where almost 2 million people live, is unique and, in many respects, we often work by instinct, so to speak. This is because we unfortunately do not have any document which clearly regulates the joint work of military and civilian authorities in the conditions of a state of emergency. So at present we are not proof against mistakes and omissions. So, in order to avoid mistakes and omissions, we give deep thought beforehand to our every decision and every order by the commandant, analyze virtually every word, and make a point of clearing our decisions at least at the level of the Baku party gorkom—we decide fundamental issues in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

[Kyazimzade] It seems clear from your reply that you have established the closest possible contact with party committees and soviet organizations.

[Kolesnikov] We could not do otherwise! We established total mutual understanding with them on every issue without exception from the very first day.

[Kyazimzade] And how do you get along with the population?

[Kolesnikov] Here I feel it is important to particularly underline the fact that the overwhelming majority of orders and instructions issued by the military commandant have resulted from alerts, requests, and wishes from individual citizens and labor collectives. But in this respect I would ask you to consider that we are not compromising the civilian administration in any way or infringing its rights by acting in this way.

Citizens complained about trade, for example. We listened to what they had to say and appointed our own people to this service sphere. Of course, they do not have a proper in-depth knowledge of all the specifics of trade affairs but, nevertheless, they have organized monitoring of the distribution of goods and their delivery to the stores and, as a result, there is now more order in the stores.

I must say that in the overwhelming majority of cases the civilian authorities regard such interference on our part with understanding and gratitude. But, let us be frank, there is also sometimes displeasure, a kind of jealousy, and a painful reaction on their part. I would say that economic organizations err in this way.

Some leaders are sometimes affected by wounded pride and, in response to a perfectly legitimate request or complaint from a citizen, advise him to apply to representatives of the military administration and simply brush him aside.

[Kyazimzade] Another question that we often come across in the mail: What prompted your announcement that passes are to be replaced?

[Kolesnikov] There is absolutely no implication in this action that we intend to carry out something akin to the certification of pass holders. This move has been dictated by the wishes of labor collectives in the territory of the Baku City Special Region, which are now faced with new production tasks making it necessary to enlist a larger contingent of workers.

[Kyazimzade] But how can you explain the fact that violations of the curfew are still continuing? And what is going to happen to detained violators?

[Kolesnikov] A study we have conducted shows that the overwhelming majority of the population fully understands the tasks of the special situation and punctiliously complies with the requirements stemming from it. But there are still violators, and I would say that their

existence is a consequence of the well known mathematical law of averages. Think about it—on average, the number of violators is no higher than 150. For a vast city with a population of almost 2 million, this is really just a drop in the bucket!

You must not think that everyone is necessarily punished. In each individual case, we take great care to establish the identity of the detainee, look into the factors which led to the violation, and carry out appropriate explanatory work.

[Kyazimzade] Who are the people who fall under the 23 November 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree?

[Kolesnikov] They are mainly citizens who maliciously ignore the curfew requirements: They try to escape the scene of the violation, offer physical resistance to the patrols, disobey them, behave provocatively and loutishly in contacts with them, are drunk, or and kindle interethnic discord.

We are looking for one such malicious violator at the moment, incidentally. In the morning, in broad daylight, no less, when his vehicle documents were being checked, he rudely refused to obey representatives of the military administration, threatened them with a knife, and was able to flee from the scene of the offense as a result.

The patrol could, of course, have taken the necessary measures to detain him but did not do so. They did right. We have the registration number of the vehicle and the registration details of the citizen to be detained, and I am confident that he will not get far.

[Kyazimzade] But is it not possible that patrols could show a subjective attitude in cases like these?

[Kolesnikov] No, it is virtually impossible, because I would describe our posts as interdepartmental: In addition to our own Army soldiers, sergeants, warrant officers, and officers, patrol duty is also carried out by members of the militia and representatives of the USSR MVD internal troops. But excesses are bound to occur in practice and, naturally, we wage the most ruthless struggle against them.

[Kyazimzade] The curfew is in its 3d month, which means that the novelty has worn off somewhat. How, in your opinion, do the servicemen feel when they have to go on patrol duty day after day and perform duties which in general are not properly theirs?

[Kolesnikov] Yes, I must agree that this kind of work is certainly not romantic or attractive and is ordinary and mundane for our servicemen. But for our part, every day we endeavor to maintain in people a zealous, sensitive attitude toward these duties which are new to the Army and we show the maximum trust in them, counting on their great honesty, vigilance, and competent fulfillment of regulation requirements. And, as events have shown, we are succeeding in this. I am pleased to be able to say that there are absolutely no facts showing that representatives of the military administration in the Baku City Special Region are behaving incorrectly.

[Kyazimzade] It would not be a bad idea, Mikhail Petrovich, if BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY were to introduce its readers to Lieutenant General M.P. Kolesnikov, the new military commandant of the Baku City Special Region.

[Kolesnikov] If you must... I was born in 1939 in the family of an engineer and dreamed from childhood of becoming a soldier; on completing my 10th grade, I entered the Omsk Tank School. This was followed by officer service in the Far East, in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, the Kiev Military District, and the General Staff Academy. This is my 6th year in the Transcaucasus—I have lived in Georgia, Armenia, and now I am here in Azerbaijan.

I have tried during this time to study the features of the Transcaucasus region as far as possible: The lives and traditions of the peoples, their customs, even their languages. While I was in Georgia, for example, I learned the alphabet and taught myself to read and write in Georgian. When I was transferred to Azerbaijan, I kitted myself out with primers and textbooks—in short, I seriously intended to tackle the language, but events have unkindly interfered....

[Kyazimzade] And my last question. If you, Mikhail Petrovich, were a journalist and I a general, what question would you like to ask me in conclusion?

[Kolesnikov] Just one, of course: When will the state of emergency be lifted? Did you guess?

[Kyazimzade] In that case, could you be so kind as to answer your own question.

[Kolesnikov] There can be no unequivocal answer to this, of course. It all depends on the fruitfulness, purposefulness, and substance of the joint work of local party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, on the one hand, and the military administration, on the other, to implement the well known directive documents on Nagorno-Karabakh and regulate interethnic relations in the Transcaucasus.

[Kyazimzade] Thank you for the frank conversation, comrade general. What would you like to wish the readers of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY?

[Kolesnikov] Good health and success in their work, study, and personal life. And—just for the moment, of course—strict observance of all the requirements of the special situation.

Children Suffering After Tajikistan Quake

PM1402154789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[GAZETAI MUALLIMON correspondent Sh. Khamdamov "Reportage From Tajikstan": "Children and the Elements"]

[Text] Dushanbe—It is not so difficult to reach the disaster area now as it was the first few days after the earthquake. The flood of people is lessening. But you meet automobiles pulling mobile homes, tents, and various freight more often. Aid to the victims is coming from all sides, particularly from the close neighbors—the Central Asian republics.

The disaster put 44 schools out of action together with many industrial and agricultural enterprises. Eight of these schools were completely destroyed and 27 will have to be pulled down. On the first day after the earthquake people reckoned that it would take at least 1 month to resume classes at the wrecked schools. But army tents have replaced the schools. Of course, it is cold in the tents and schoolchildren sit at their desks in their outerwear. But the children are happy that they're together once more. They're being issued with free school equipment and given food three times a day.

Many children lost both parents. They are now the immediate concern. Children are being allocated places in sanatoriums, rest homes, and boarding schools and a list is being compiled of those wanting to go to Artek [young pioneer camp] for 1 month. There are many families that want to take them under their wing.

From time to time injustices are permitted during the allocation of temporary housing—mobile homes, canvas dwellings, and tents. Teachers often find themselves at the end of the line. Some 65 teachers' families lost the roof over their heads and the homes of 86 are wrecked. But hitherto only 9 of them have been provided with mobile homes. The rest have been instructed to live in the "Karatag" rest home 50km from their place of work. How are we to understand this? In the villages of Sharor, Okuli-Bolo, and Okuli-Poyek teachers also complain that some of their colleagues cannot work normally owing to the lack of temporary housing. As a result children are suffering. The calamity that befell the villages of Tajikstan is hard for everyone. But the children are completely defenseless in the face of it. It is ridiculous to expect children's distress to be alleviated while anyone is being hurt. The main thing is to ensure that children don't feel hard done by in our common misfortune and that no injustice is done before their eyes. The natural diaster has put all our humanity to the test, and society gauges humanity, as is well known, by one's attitude to the old and to children. It is extremely important to remember this in our hour of difficulty.

'No Grounds' for Expecting Stavropol Earthquake

PM1402095789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by TASS correspondents N. Styazhkin and N. Zheleznov: "Responsibility for Forecasts, or Why They Do Not Sleep in Stavropol"]

[Text] Stavropol-Moscow—For some days now many inhabitants of Stavropol have been bombarding the editorial offices of local newspapers and radio with the anxious question: Are the rumors of a possible earthquake within the city limits correct?

The worry was caused by a report in a central paper about the discovery of an area of uplift—a fairly widespread phenomenon in many parts of the globe.

Professor G. Sobolev, a well-known Soviet geophysicist from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Earth Physics, who responded to TASS correspondents' request for comment on the seismological situation in Stavropol, began by warning journalists not to be too hasty in publishing material of this kind. Since the Leninakan tragedy, he said, any information on geophysical processes taking place in earthquake-prone regions must be treated with special care and responsibility by journalists.

This condition has not been met. In fact, the most incredible rumors have been dogging Stavropol for a week now. Despite explanations by scientists in an article in the kray paper, the tension in the city has not abated. Therefore, Prof G. Sobolev said, I am authorized on behalf of my colleagues to issue a brief and entirely reliable statement.

In the first place, by no means every geodetic anomaly is associated with a possible earthquake source. Many instances of uplift, and indeed subsidence, are observable over long periods even in areas that are perfectly safe in tectonic terms.

Second, it has been observed that in earthquake-prone areas anomalies associated with a source of dangerous earthquakes tend to be tens and hundreds of kilometers in size. The size of the Stavropol anomaly—around 10 kilometers—cannot, therefore, give rise to any fears.

Finally and most importantly, scientists previously regarded a force-6 earthquake in Stavropol as an extremely unlikely event. The current uplift (about 8 mm per year) has not changed the seismic situation. There is no reason to believe that it will deteriorate in the immediate future, so there are no grounds for forecasting a potentially life-threatening earthquake in the Stavropol area.

Lithuania's Brazauskas on 'Pressing' Issues
LD1402154389 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 12 Feb 89

[By correspondent Rima Jakutyte]

[Excerpts] It would be rather difficult to give a synopsis of this week's events. I think that a certain degree of concern lasted until the weekend.

The most concern was caused by the visit to Moscow by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. People were concerned about the fact that the secretary left for Moscow after a commission of ideologists interested in the political situation in Lithuania had completed its work here.

People were so concerned that they telephoned the radio, asking only about the commission's conclusions, but expressing concern about the future of Algirdas Brazauskas himself. By the way, this is the first case in many years of people expressing their concern over the future of a party leader.

Most rumors were quashed after the regular Friday interview with A. Brazauskas was broadcast on Vilnius radio. Having jokingly announced that he was still alive and well and in his office, Algirdas Brazauskas said that in Moscow opinion had been exchanged on Lithuania's most pressing current issues.

[Begin Brazauskas recording] I really tried to objectively describe and inform the commission about Lithuania's current aspirations, about the problems we have, and about the issues the people are raising. I tried to explain that the steps taken by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the Government are aimed at solving these questions which have recently arisen.

I explained why we recognized and why we adopted the decision to declare 16 February a national holiday and why we adopted such an appeal in our election platform—in which, as you must have noticed, are many, I would say, problematic issues, which received our solid confidence. I had to give a more thorough explanation of why we raise such issues. The commission also demanded that I explain in detail this saying which has already become, it could be said, a classic: Lithuania without sovereignty is Lithuania without a future. And indeed I tried to do this by explaining how we understand the current restructuring, how the population of Lithuania, as one of the 15 republics, understands the restructuring. Perhaps in many cases I would say we are ahead of others; therefore, it is more difficult for us.

It is very satisfactory that one of the questions which was best understood was the conception of our republic's economic sovereignty, which had been rather widely commented on and discussed. I left all the main documents there. That was 2 days ago, and we feel today that these documents are being analyzed attentively and discussed. Additional material has been requested, and I would think that this is one of the most positive and real steps down the path of what we have already managed to achieve.

I do not think we have done everything already. This is only the beginning because both our economists and I still will have to work hard in order to remove a number of obstacles that may occur in our way, but then the foundations have been laid very well indeed, and therefore, we have much hope. [end recording]

People eagerly await the time when the Lithuanian draft constitution is submitted for public discussion. Algirdas Brazauskas' visit to Moscow was linked with the fact that this draft constitution would not be published at all. The party leader gave assurances that there was no cause for concern. The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session adopted a decision to submit the draft for public discussion in January-February, so the deadline has not expired yet. Presently,the Lithuanian draft constitution has been taken to Moscow, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium where it is being analyzed in detail by a special commission of experts. Algirdas Brazauskas had this to say:

[Begin Brazauskas recording] On Monday a large team of people will leave here for Moscow, to go to the Supreme Soviet Presidium and to the institutes of the Academy of Sciences, in order to prove that this variant of our constitution corresponds with today's spirit of restructuring.

There is one more thing I would like to mention. This is that all these people with whom I was able to meet, while discussing issues concerning our republic, voiced their opinion that our draft constitution includes many sensible ideas, indeed, that the draft is very original and demands attentive analysis and discussion by specialists.

I believe that these discussions will be in our favor. I hope so because truly we also are ahead of others with the constitution, as well. I return once again to this fact, which is very complex and important, and demands great efforts because there are many articles in the draft constitution that now are distant from those old dogmas and the elements of reasoning that existed earlier. If we could do something—and this is my personal wish and dream—to adopt a constitution that would really work, that is my wish." [end recording]

Speaking of the political situation in Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas said that he would not be able to call it very stable.

In the election campaign, some candidate deputies expressed radical ideas, which concerned some people. Voices also are being heard that do not take into account the existing situation in reality and declare that the time has now come when Lithuania can become independent and can secede from the USSR.

Such an extreme understanding of the current situation and possibilities, without any feeling of responsibility for the future of the Lithuanian nation, shocks most people. This probably was demonstrated more vividly by the Lithuanian League of Liberty pickets organized against the visit to Lithuania by parliamentarians from the European Parliament, including Algis Klimatis, secretary general of the European Parliament's Baltic Group.

Speaking of other events in Lithuanian, it must be noted that society is not being consolidated by the negative reactions of Russians and Poles to the declaration of Lithuanian as the state language and to the decree adopted on its use. [passage omitted]

It seems that the meeting organized by the Yedinstvo-Vienyue-Jednosc [Russian, Lithuanian and Polish words, respectively, all meaning "unity"] group, which is to take place tomorrow, also will not improve concord among the various nationalities living in Lithuania.

Professor Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the "Sajudis" Council advised people on television not to take part in tomorrow's meeting.

A group of council members met Algirdas Brazauskas this week after his return from Moscow. Both the party leader, in his interview to Lithuanian radio, and Vytautas Bubnys on the telephone today evaluated the meeting as constructive in the discussion of the political situation in Lithuania.

Today, the first secretaries of Lithuanian Communist Party rayon and city committees held a conference at the Lithuanian Comunist Party Central Committee. Algirdas Brazauskas presented to them the remarks and conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission that worked in Lithuania. Political and economic reality was discussed, with much attention being paid to the upcoming elections, the 16 February national holiday, and issues concerning the preparation of the Lithuanian draft constitution, the use of language, and other topics.

According to ELTA, concern was voiced over the increasing number of cases to which irresponsible, sometimes even extremist statements of a provocative nature are voiced by various informal groups and their individual members about the alleged prospects of Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union, as well as attacks against party leaders and the government.

Brazauskas Interview on Interethnic Issues

LD1402221189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by Moscow television correspondent Adolfas Paulyus, identified by screen caption; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has prepared a proposal for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations in the USSR. In connection with this our correspondent has interviewed Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Begin recording] [Paulyus] I would like to hear your opinion as to how interethnic relations have been developing in the Lithuanian SSR since the 19th party conference?

[Brazauskas] Among others, a resolution on interethnic relations was adopted at the 19th all-union party conference. People of different nationalities have been living in Lithuania for many years, although it is Lithuanians who are in the majority. However, on the basis of this resolution certain changes occurred, of course, in our legislation. Amendments were made to the Lithuanian SSR Constitution where the Lithuanian language was established as a state law. This in no way infringes upon the rights of people who do not know the Lithuanian language. I think it encourages those people who have linked their destiny with our republic and who consider that it is necessary to know the Lithuanian language in order to feel, I would say, more at home among their friends.

Societies of people of other nationalities are being set up in our republic, and this is taking place in what I would call a very good atmosphere, perhaps in the sense of good relations between ethnic groups—there are Crimeans, Tatars and Jews living in our republic, and, of course, there are a lot of Russians, Belorussians and Poles. So we have an international republic and it is these societies which are pursuing this chief objective of preserving the culture and language of these peoples.

We are encouraging these good intentions in every way. These proposals are one of the measures in the preparation for the plenum on interethnic relations. This material has been prepared by a Commission of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. These proposals cover a very large spectrum of questions, starting with Lenin's understanding of the sovereignty of individual union republics and an understanding of other questions of the present day, too, which are topical for us. These are questions of economic independence or, as they say, financial autonomy and self-financing of an individual republic. This will undoubtedly—I am profoundly convinced of this—help to improve and activate the economy of individual republics. If it applies to individual republics, then it will affect the whole of our country, too.

The election campaign is proceeding vigorously and actively. People are asking a lot of questions, both from the spectrum of interethnic relations and also about the whole political situation in our country and in individual republics as well as the degree of sovereignty of each republic.

[Paulyus] Each one of us should be preparing for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum, including those of us in the mass media.

[Brazauskas] There were very specific proposals during the meeting on the nominations of people's deputy candidates. Why should we not set up on union television something like a bridge between Moscow and Vilnius, Moscow and Kishinev or Tallinn, to show life, if you like, how these republics live.

[Paulyus] This would, of course, help mutual understanding, and would bar the way to the spread of all these cock-and-bull stories which, unfortunately, exist in the country.

[Brazauskas] Cock-and-bull stories, precisely. Because when there is a shortage of information rumors take over. There is a vacuum. And we would certainly not like information about the state of affairs to be conveyed only by rumors. In our republic we believe that at this plenum many cardinal decisions will be adopted on these questions which are very complex for all of us on putting right interethnic relations. After all our country is a huge country with many nationalities and we must live in harmony. [end recording]

Latvian Journalists' Union Holds Congress 3-4 Feb
PM1402165089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 7, 12 Feb 89 p 2

[Ayvars Baumanis report: "Latvia: A Congress of Journalists"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Union of Journalists of the Latvian Republic, affiliated to the Union of Soviet Journalists, held an extraordinary congress February 3, 4 in Riga. Over 700 of its delegates elected a new board. Poet Viktors Otins, executive secretary of the "DAUGAVA" magazine, was elected chairman of the board, and Ayvars Baumanis, head of the Latvian section of the NOVOSTI Press Agency, was elected first vice-chairman of the board. Aivars Baumanis shares his impressions about the congress with "MN".

The Congress has undertaken the reorganization of the Union of Journalists. Over 60 delegates spoke about the role of the press in perestroyka, relations between the press and party organizations, the absence of a legal defence mechanism for journalists, hardships of the press, issues involved in the transition of the press to complete self-financing.

The majority of the delegates spoke in favour of creating the republican Union of Journalists, following the example of their Lithuanian colleagues. This demand was included in the resolution about the activity and the tasks of the union adopted by the congress. The newly elected board was given the task of setting up a rules commission to draft new rules. A congress of the Union of Journalists of Latvia is to be called before the end of the year. The speakers pointed out that the independence of the new union would demand greater responsibility. They voiced their concern over the one-sidedness of some reports about the recent developments in Latvia in the national press, TV and radio. Such criticism could be heard in the republic even before the congress. In responses, several journalists refused to be registered with the republican journalists' organization and opted for being registered with the Moscow organization. This was regarded by the congress as a divisive action. The forum of Latvia's journalists adopted a separate resolution concerning the coverage of perestroyka in the republic by the national mass media.

The congress also made note of an alternative resolution proposed by correspondents of national periodicals.

The delegates voted in favour of publishing MOSCOW NEWS in Latvian as well as a digest of Latvian periodicals in Russian.

Lithuanian Minister, Television Chief Retire
LD1502095489 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The Lithuanian minister of culture and the chairman of the Radio and Television Committee have been relieved from their posts in connection with their retirement.

Jonas Bielinis has been minister of culture for the last 12 years. He still has 5 years to go until his real retirement age.

Juozas Kuolelis, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, still has 1 and ½ years to go until his real retirement age. Earlier he was head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Last week the man who was in charge of radio broadcasts and who had compromised himself left the post of chairman of the Radio and Television Committee.

Domas Sniukas has been appointed chairman of the Radio and Television Committee. He is 56, and for the last several years he was a PRAVDA correspondent in Lithuania. Domas Sniukas was elected chairman of the Journalists' Union Council by a great majority of votes at the extraordinary Congress of Lithuanian Journalists which took place at the end of January this year. As reported, the congress was extraordinary due to having adopted new rules for the union—direct dependence on the USSR Union of Journalists was renounced by the Lithuanian Journalists' Union.

Vilnius 'Unity' Rally Demands Multilingualism
PM1402152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

["Own Information" report: "Rally In Vilnius"]

[Text] A 3-hour rally organized by the "Unity" movement has been held in Vilnius. It was attended (according to its organizers) by around 100,000 people from Vilnius and neighboring areas, Klaypeda, and Snechkus. The participants were mainly Russians and Poles. The rally was organized as a protest against the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree declaring Lithuanian the state language in the republic, which, in the opinion of the rally participants, "violated human rights." The meeting's main demand was for the introduction of multilingualism, taking into account the interests not only of the Lithuanian, but also of the Russian and Polish populations. In "Unity's" view, the decision exacerbates interethnic relations and divides the peoples living in the republic.

There was strong criticism of "Sajudis," particularly its right wing, for advancing slogans calling for the separation of Lithuania from the USSR.

Rukainiai Deputies Declare District Polish Unit
LD1402140889 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Yesterday a session of the district soviet of people's deputies in the Rukainiai settlement of the Vilnius region decided to declare this countryside district their Polish national administrative unit.

This decision will be considered by the soviet of people's deputies of the Vilnius region or by the soviet's executive committee. And if the decision is endorsed it will pass on to the Presidium of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet.

Going by the constitution and operating laws the decision of the Rukainiai Soviet is illegal, since no possibility of establishing any national administrative units in Lithuania is envisaged there.

Such a decision was promted by the decree proclaiming Lithuanian the state language and by all sorts of long neglected economic and social problems in the region that are practically insoluable.

At the session the deputies made ardent speeches to the effect that country people in mid-Lithuania for instance, are much better off; as for Lithuanian having been declared state language the deputies claimed at the session that all the Poles in the district were against it and they make up about 90 percent of the district's population.

Thus, the Vilnius region and south east Lithuania in general have been perhaps facing more social problems than any other place, but once again I must say that the decision to set up a Polish national district is invalid legally.

Draft Law on Latvian as State Language
PM1302153189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 2

["Latvian SSR Draft Law on Addendum to Latvian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)"—SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA headline]

[Text] The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

to supplement the Latvian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) adopted 18 April 1978 with an Article 73(1) as follows:

"Article 73(1). The Latvian language is the Latvian SSR's state language."

"The procedure for using the Latvian language and other languages is defined by law."

[Signed] Chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Secretary of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Religious Education Returns to Latvian Schools
LD1402192289 Vatican City International Service in German 1500 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Religious education returns to Latvia's secondary schools. Religious education has again been included in the curriculum of Riga's secondary schools. The coordinator for the new subject is the pastor of (?St. Mary's) Church (?Yesto) Perov. It was also announced in Riga that religious education is not an obligatory subject. Participation depends on the voluntary decision of the students or their parents.

Baltic Military District Headquarters Picketed
PM1402155189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh article: "Show for Parliamentarians, or Why Pickets Were Active Outside the Baltic Military District Headquarters"]

[Text] Riga—On my way to the Baltic Military District Headquarters, following my usual route, I suddenly found myself in the midst of a crowd of people much like that which normally gathers in the wake of a traffic accident. There was an impatient bustle. Faces excited by curiosity. Muffled nervous chatter. Men. Women. Adolescents. The normal mixture of people you encounter in the street....

But behind the backs of the casual—who later proved to be not at all casual—passers-by, I saw people standing in a pretty well organized line along the sidewalk curb, carrying homemade posters for everyone to see. Pickets. Already a normal sight in Riga. At times they are to be found outside the military district headquarters building carrying slogans that are insulting to the Soviet Armed Forces. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA wrote about this not that long ago.

What is the aim of the participants in and organizers of the latest action, who, as it became clear, have been picketing the military installation for several days now? The topic is nothing new for Soviet Latvia's capital—the allegedly forcible establishment of Soviet power in the republic in the summer of 1940. That is how this topic is interpreted in the manner and fashion of some newfound "political fighters" from the ranks of several informal associations. Emotions, conjectures, and assumptions instead of historical facts and documents. And who is perceived as the main "perpetrator"? The Soviet Army, of course. This is bluntly "screamed" by the signs on homemade posters: "USSR Armed Forces Are Occupation Forces," according to one. "It is the duty of Latvia's sons to serve in the army of Lachplesis (the name of the hero of an eponymous Latvian epic poem—M.Z.) and not in the army of Ilya Muromets [hero of Russian epic poem]," asserts another. "I don't want my son to serve in the Army...," protests a third.

Someone else, right in the middle of the road and surrounded by a thick crowd of curious onlookers, is demonstrating his all too obviously underdeveloped talents as amateur painter, and the inscriptions on his poster are written in Latvian, Russian, German, and English. Apparently the selfsame free hand of the "free artist," with an imagination as free as his hand, has drawn something resembling a political map which, when studied closely, gives the impression that the Baltic republics lie...a long way east of Moscow....

But here is something new, in any case something that I have never seen or read before—an appeal to the European Parliament. A picket demands "Freedom, sovereignty, and independence for the occupied Baltic states." Yes, I knew that a delegation from the European Parliament's Baltic Group arrived in Riga from Vilnius 7 February to see for itself the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Baltic region within the framework of an unofficial visit. It consists of five parliamentarians, who will later go on to Tallinn. On the same mission as in Vilnius and Riga. The appeal, and therefore the full text of the poster, is apparently addressed directly to these parliamentarians. But what has the military district headquarters got to do with it? After all, the esteemed visitors are not ensconced in session there. While in Riga, they spent most of their working time in the offices of the Latvian Writers Union, where they met members of the People's Front Duma and representatives of informal organizations.

But why did the pickets settle right here, outside the military district headquarters building? I approached the young man carrying the "appeal" and tried to engage him in conversation. Unfortunately, no conversation was forthcoming. The young man answered the simplest question about the reasons for his actions and demands in a provocative manner: "I am standing here because I have to." And how long will you stand? "I'll stand for as long as necessary." But the young man must be aware that his actions and the actions by other pickets like him obstruct free access to the district headquarters for officials working there. Therefore a state institution's work is being disrupted. These are actions that fall within a certain article of the Criminal Code....

"Call yourself a Lett!" someone in the crowd exclaimed with considerable amazement.

"If you were a real Lett you would sign where all true Letts are signing...."

In the wake of these words the crowd parted, a man wearing a shabby brown overcoat came forward, and asked me to perform an almost historic act: To append my signature to a standard ruled sheet of paper. Of course, I had no idea what organization was collecting signatures or for what purpose, so the solemn moment was delayed. It later transpired that the person who was collecting the signatures himself did not have an accurate idea of the purpose for which they were being collected. This way, pardon the expression, you might sign your own death sentence.

From the moment I found myself in the midst of this unexpected gathering of people and this whole performance started taking place, I constantly felt watched by the silent eye of a movie camera, while a synchronized microphone was in operation and still camera shutters kept clicking. I am profoundly convinced that not a single facial movement and not a single vocal intonation went unrecorded. When the movie camera got "tired" of working or maybe ran out of film, tape recorder microphones were shoved indecently close to my face. Questions were formulated in more or less the same unceremonious fashion: How, for example, do I feel as an officer of the occupation army in this land? How would I respond if I were offered an opportunity to fill a certain position in a national [Latvian] army?

The pickets themselves were interviewed and filmed by a correspondent of an informal association's publication in a much simpler, easier, and sometimes completely relaxed manner, with total coincidence of opinions: An elderly person, for example, who had allegedly witnessed the "act of occupation" and had seen "Soviet tanks enter Riga, take up positions by the Radio Center, and point guns at the government building." A father who did not wish to see his son, on attaining majority, serve in the "army of occupation"; an adolescent who still has 3 years to go before Army service, but is already "thinking now how nice it would be to end up serving in a national

formation" and whose "parents share his views." The same wish is expressed by picketing girls whose boyfriends are due to serve in the Army....

As a matter of fact, close observation of events outside the district headquarters convinced me that the pickets certainly were not the main actors in the show that was staged there. They were mere extras in the hands of skillful directors who, for some unknown reason, did not deem it necessary to appear on stage. How else is one to explain the following statements and answers by some of the most outspoken "political fighters": "We were told to be here, and we will be told when to leave," "I don't know who made this poster, it was given to me." Someone even came up with a suitable answer to remarks by Militia Lieutenant Colonel Lebedev: "We were told you wouldn't do anything to us...."

There you have it: "We were told, we were given...." And when the sturdy guys carrying the posters began to be replaced by elderly people and children, it became perfectly clear: A game was being played in pursuit of a very definite objective—to attract the attention of the high-ranking visitors, in other words the European Parliament deputies, or maybe even to please some other foreign visitor.

There are sound reasons for thinking so. My friend the painter Arkadiy Yushechkin and I strolled in the almost springlike weather along Riga's streets in the evening and, outside a hotel called "Ridzene," which, translated, means "Riga Girl," we unintentionally witnessed the following scene: Another row of pickets outside the entrance. Familiar faces. Posters. The overwhelming majority of signs in English and German.

The reason became perfectly obvious: A foreign visitor came out and approached them (I have no intention of claiming that he was one of the members of the aforementioned parliament). The conversation was conducted in Latvian. Every now and then one of the pickets would approach the visitor and give him already printed photographs of himself playing the part of picket and "political fighter." One individual even deemed it necessary to warn him: "Watch out in case they confiscate these photographs from you." But the visitor was much more optimistic on this account: "They can't confiscate things so easily from me." Words of profound and apparently sincere gratitude were spoken by both sides on the presentation of these "souvenirs." The visitor even gave his autograph. On observing this touching scene, I felt somewhat resentful: While among the crowd surrounding the pickets outside the district headquarters, I saw stacks of the photographs that were now being handed to the foreign visitor, and I asked the amateur photographers to give me, by way of a memento, at least one shot of events around the headquarter. But I was firmly refused:

"No, no, we don't give anything out for free. Production costs...."

"But I'll pay for the photograph," I insisted.

"No, no," the same voice firmly replied.

Then I realized: The biased interview which I was made to give when I encountered the pickets outside the district headquarters had also, obviously, already found its way into the hands of this foreign visitor, or maybe another one.

PRAVDA Reports Baklanov Dubna Nuclear Visit

PM1402125789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visiting Dubna's Scientists"]

[Text] The Joint Nuclear Research Institute is one of the world's largest international scientific centers. Set up in 1956 on the initiative of the USSR, it carries out a large volume of fundamental and applied research in the sphere of nuclear physics. Representatives of 11 socialist countries work there. Some 34 discoveries have been made through the efforts of this international scientific collective—which amounts to half the discoveries in the sphere of physics registered in the USSR. The institute was the forerunner in the study of a whole range of new phenomena such as superfluidity and superconductivity, neutrino physics, nonferrous quarks, synthesis of superheavy elements, and so forth. The ideas of nuclear filters, the application of particle beams in oncology and material science, and the use of probes in medicine were born at Dubna.

O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the institute 10 February. The institute's vice director, Corresponding Member of the CSSR Academy of Sciences M. Gmitro, Soviet scientists, and specialists from other member countries talked about the collective's activity and the scientific results that have been achieved. They examined questions of further improving the organization of work to deepen research in the nuclear physics sphere, reinforce the experimental base, and also enhance the standard of training for specialists with higher qualifications.

While noting the high standard of the work being carried out, O.D. Baklanov drew attention to the fact that the institute's scientific areas are developing under strong competition with the world's leading scientific centers, which invest considerable funds in promising areas of research. In this connection nothing can justify the delayed commissioning of new experimental installations and the lack of a contemporary computer base, which is seriously hampering effective exploitation of the Dubna scientists' high scientific potential. The international collective will have to resolve these and other questions relating to the institute's development in the near future in order to attain advanced levels of world science. It was also noted that more concern must be shown to introduce the applied results of fundamental research in the member countries' economies.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary examined the state of affairs with regard to the creation of new equipment at a USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry science and production association. The task was set of eliminating the current lag in fulfilling the targets that have been set and boosting the qualitative features of the output within a short period. Serious comments were made to the association's leadership in connection with the unsatisfactory work being done to increase production and create new types of consumer goods and in connection with the inadequate attention being paid to the development of the social sphere.

In the city of Dubna O.A. Baklanov was familiarized with the organization of trade, public catering, and consumer services. Special attention was paid to the need to step up rates of housing construction, above all using the own-resources method. The CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired in detail about the progress of preparing for the elections of USSR people's deputies.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by L.D. Ryabev and I.V. Koksanov, USSR ministers, and other party and economic leaders.

Findings of Commission on Kuropaty Exhumations
LD1302175189 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 22 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

["Report of the Governmental Commission Formed by the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers on 14 June 1988"—ZVYAZDA headline]

[Excerpts] The commission formed to investigate the burials in Kuropaty forest included commission chairman N.M. Mazay, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, and commission deputy chairman G.S. Tarnavskiy, Belorussian SSR procurator. [passage omitted]

In its work the commission used the available archival documents, the conclusions of the experts, and the materials of the criminal case initiated by the Belorussian SSR Procurator's Office in connection with the burials in Kuropaty forest. [passage omitted]

In the process of the examination the commission established the following:

The remains of no fewer than 356 people were exhumed. It was found that most of the skulls were damaged by gunshot either in the neck or the temple.

The cartridge-cases and bullets found during the excavation comprise ammunition produced for the Nagan and TT guns. Such cartridge-cases and bullets were manufactured in the USSR from 1928 through 1939.

Some of the personal belongings and footwear were preserved well and still bear markings such as trade signs and printed writing.

The investigation of fragments of clothes and footwear found in the graves and of other articles and personal belongings gives grounds to believe that the victims came from a very broad social range. [passage omitted]

According to the 55 eye witnesses, the executions began in 1937 and lasted until summer 1941. The section of the forest where executions and burials were carried out was surrounded by a fence in 1937-38. During the fascist occupation the forest was cleared and the fence dismantled.

Specialists believe that the age of the trees that have since grown over the graves is 35 to 46 years.

No materials and documents relating to Kuropaty have been found in the archives of the Belorussian Ministries of Justice or Interior, the KGB, Procurator's Office, or all-union organs.

Knowledge of the way in which archive documents were drawn up, including the criminal cases of persons repressed in 1937-41, has shown that NKVD organs did not record execution and burial sites.

The commission took steps to locate former Belorussian NKVD personnel who participated in 1937-41 in the investigation of cases of so called "enemies of the people." By studying the criminal cases of citizens rehabilitated in 1950-60, more than 40 names of such personnel were elucidated. It was further established that many of them were brought to criminal responsiblity and executed in the period of repressions.

Thus, G.A. Molchanov, born in 1887, who served as People's Commissar of the Belorussian NKVD from 28 November 1936 until 4 February 1937, was sentenced to death on 2 November 1937.

B.D. Berman, born in 1901, held the same post from 4 March 1937 until 22 May 1938. He was sentenced to death on 22 February 1939.

A.A. Nasedkin, born in 1897, headed the Belorussian NKVD from 22 May 1938 to 17 December 1938. On 25 December 1939 he was sentenced to death.

L.F. Tsanava, born in 1900, held the same post from 17 December 1938 until 30 October 1951. On 12 October 1955, he committed suicide during the investigation of a criminal case involving him.

After analyzing the materials available, the commission has arrived at the conclusion that mass executions of Soviet citizens were carried out in 1937-41 in Kuropaty Forest.

It has not been possible to establish the identities of those perished, nor the specific motives for executing them or the identities of the persons who carried out the executions, nor the decisions passed by extra-legal organs in 1937-41.

The governmental commission has submitted proposals to the Belorussian Council of Ministers on perpetuating the memory of the victims of the repressions in 1937-41 buried in Kuropaty Forest. [passage omitted]

The governmental commission will continue its search of archive documents and materials relating to events in Kuropaty as well as of witnesses with the aim of establishing the identities of those executed, the specific motives for executing them and the identities of those who carried out the executions.

The commission appeals once again to all citizens who know anything about those tragic events to submit their information either to the commission or to the republic's procuracy.

Question, Answer 'Marathon' at Chernobyl Briefing
PM1502123989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 4

[Own correspondent O. Yegorova article under the general heading "Ecology: Danger Zones": "Open Up Your Maps"]

[Text] Minsk—I am not exaggerating: People in the republic had been waiting for this news conference for almost 3 years. One of the journalists even calculated it precisely: 1,000 days!

But what kind of can of worms have we opened together? The marathon of questions and answers continued for almost a whole working shift—7 stormy hours in succession. But the members of the republic government commission to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident on Belorussian territory could not answer all the questions. Incidentally, by no means all the questions were asked, of course. No experience, no tradition is in such great need today as dialogue between the authorities and the public. Although on that day everyone agreed on one thing: That such meetings are essential and vitally important. Questions had accumulated over these 1,000 days as if in geometric progression. Because of the lack of information.

It is difficult to believe, but we were not fully aware even of what has been or is being done to eliminate the consequences of the accident for people evacuated from the 30km zone and for those who continue to live in zones which are constantly and periodically monitored. We did not know, for example, that the total resources allotted to eliminate the accident for this year alone is R243 million in state, centralized capital investments, with the necessary material and technical resources. We did not know that over 4 years this sum amounts to about R1.15 billion. That besides the Institute of Radiobiology, another 19 (!) academic institutes are dealing with these problems in the republic. We did not know that more than 520,000 people living in the republic were subjected to varying degrees of contamination by radionuclides. And there is much else that we did not and do not know... At best the information was late. This press conference is confirmation of this.

I am convinced that the whole of society should be blamed, not only the government commission members, for the incompleteness of the information concerning Belorussia's contamination by radionuclides. For decades we have grown too accustomed to going with the flow—someone will think for us, someone will correct us. It is a short step from lack of information to incompetence, and there is already a great deal of irresponsibility. Haven't there been a great number of confirmations of this in recent years?

It is as important to be well-informed in modern society as it is to be literate. This is the cultural standard, the standard of the people's morals. How, for example, can the fact be explained that in certain villages where it is forbidden to live, nonetheless people live there voluntarily, so-called "selfsettlers" about whom journalists have recently started to write? But is it right to compare something terrible—radiation—with something sacred—the motherland. Is it right that even one person, just one child should today call himself a "selfsettler," subjecting himself to unforeseen dangers for goodness knows how long? Do we sense our collective guilt on this question?

I think that there is one reason—the absence of glasnost traditions. But tell me where you can buy a book explaining radiation in Minsk today—not to mention in the Polesye villages, for whose inhabitants such literature must be an A-B-C manual on how to conduct themselves on a daily basis.

We publish or have published mountains of pulp literature over the last 3 years—and not a single book on the Chernobyl accident published on a mass scale accessible to everyone. Or: Where can you buy the most elementary pocket monitor? I am not asking on day 3 after the accident but in the 3d year. There is no answer. But then there are rumors which are simply incomprehensible. That, for example, the Belorussian Government refused help from other countries, although the republic suffered no less that the Ukraine. And that, imagine, in our republic an agreement was allegedly given to bury the AES' radioactive waste! Such rumors are the result of this same lack of information.

In my view, the press conference held in Minsk is only the first step in realizing the entire set of problems connected with the Chernobyl catastrophe, with interpreting the lessons of its consequences. But it has been taken, albeit rather late, but nonetheless it has been taken.

A few days ago maps were published in the republic newspapers which document the radiation situation for January this year. Are there guarantees that they, these documents, these maps, these interpretations, will continue to be published? In February, March, and April.... Are we all sufficiently open and do we have enough sense, honesty, and ethics—will we be able to make this information everyone's property tomorrow and the day after tomorrow?

This is why I am writing, and why I want to make this document public for everyone, because I believe that we will. It cannot be otherwise in our times. It is everybody's misfortune, it is everyone's duty.

[The article is accompanied by a map and a footnote reading: "The map shows the radiation situation for January 1989.

"The symbols: 1. Constantly monitored zone. 2. Periodically monitored zone. 3. Evacuation zone. 4. Exclusion zone."]

Ukrainian Language Association Meeting Ends

'Hot Debate'; Rules Adopted

LD1402165889 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Excerpts] The constituent conference of the Taras Shevcheno Native Language Society [TSHNLS] ended in Kiev today. Our correspondent, Tetyana Zadorozhna, reports:

[Zadorozhna] Delegates from all regions of the republic meeting at the republican House of Cinematographists engaged in hot and interesting debate on the ways of developing and broadening the use and prestige of the Ukrainian language and turning it into a state language. The conference was opened by writer Oles Honchar, who said:

[Begin Honchar recording] The 20th century has brought to our culture and language high flights and difficult trials. We experienced the Ukrainian renaissance in the twenties, in the Leninist years. But afterward we had to taste the terror of Stalin's great turning point when murderers stood so close to us. They succeeded in doing a great deal. That is why the status of Ukrainian as a state language must acquire a legislative and constitutional force [applause].

Among the good things which our society must accomplish, an important place will also have to be reserved for establishing close and businesslike contacts with Ukrainians that live in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other socialist countries, as well as with our brothers and sisters in countries beyond the ocean whose souls, longing for Soviet Ukraine, support at all levels the cradles of Ukrainian spiritual life, for our petals are strewn throughout the world. [applause] [end recording]

[Zadorozhna] The importance of and need for the public's active work in asserting the status of Ukrainian as a state language was stressed in the speech of Mariya Orlik, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers:

[Begin Orlik recording] Let me on behalf of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's supreme soviet presidium, and the council of ministers, greet you cordially, delegates and guests, at the opening of the constituent conference. [applause]

Having realized all the deformations and losses, we are undertaking practical actions with a view to removing them and rectifying the situation. In this an important role has been played by a decision of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee of 14 August 1987 on nationality relations and the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of population. During the 2 years that have passed since then, not only have meetings been organized, propaganda for the status of Ukrainian as a state language been enacted, and the first festivals in the native language been held, but there has been direct, specific and hard work to widen the use of Ukrainian. More decisions connected with this task have been prepared and adopted.

You know that on 27 January 1989 the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decided to submit to the republic's parliament the proposal on elevating the Ukrainian language to state status. [applause]. A bill on the language is being prepared, and it will be adopted. We badly need this law because the simple proclamation of the status of Ukrainian as state language and the legal status of other languages does not automatically solve the problems which concern us.

Therefore the commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the invited popular figures of science, literature, and culture have created a working group which is already preparing appropriate documents for a future session of the republic's parliament. I am of the view that the society which will be created today will make an important contribution to this work. [end recording]

[Zadorozhna] Emotionally and hotly speakers expressed pluralist viewpoints on problems and difficulties which hamper their work and submitted specific proposals on how the primary organizations of the society could broaden and make their work more prestigious. Journalist Ivan Dzyuba said:

[Begin Dzyuba recording] Our feeling for our language and our linguistic patriotism should take us to the very summit of human and mankind's values. [passage omitted] We should be sensitive and intelligent as regards the use of language by each individual. To demand from an

individual, without first finding about his personal condition and his circumstances, that he immediately switch over to Ukrainian, would be savagery equivalent to that when a Ukrainian is forced to abandon his own language. [end recording]

[Zadorozhna] At the conference there were representatives of Ukrainian communities in Leningrad, Moscow, Baltic republics, Kuban, Poland, Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

The TSHNLS adopted the regulations and also elected its ruling body, the supreme council and board. Well known Ukrainian poet Dmytro Pavlychko was elected the society's chairman. [passage omitted]

Pavlychko Concluding Speech

LD1302152589 Kiev in English to Europe 1900 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] The constituent conference of the Association of the Ukrainian Language, named after Taras Shevchenko, has completed its work in Kiev today. The conference adopted a charter and also elected leading bodies—the General Council and the Board. Wellknown Ukrainian poet Dmitri Pavlychko became the chairman of the society. In his concluding speech he said in part:

[Being Pavlychko recording in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation]. We are upholding one thing, what are we standing for, what are we striving for? It is national justice and this justice cannot be granted to one nation alone, to one language. We believe that national exclusiveness, national egoism, nationalism, and its perfect reflection—chauvinism—are our enemies. We are revising the Ukrainian language—not only for securing life for our nation, our people—we are doing that, because we do not imagine either humanity or our Soviet motherland in general without the Ukrainian people, without the Ukrainian language. We must remember that. We are reviving the Ukrainian language, reviving the idea of the Great October, the spirit of the truth, the spirit of socialism and the spirit of humaneness. May there always be our Ukrainian wonderful and melodious language, may there always be fraternity. Long live the Taras Shevchenko Association of the Ukrainian Language. [end Pavlychko recording]

The participants of the conference also adopted a resolution and an appeal to the citizens of the Ukraine, to all Ukrainians. A delegation of the Association laid flowers at the monuments to Vladimir Lenin and Taras Shevchenko [words indistinct] were Politburo members Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Yuriy Yelchenko, and Vice-Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, Mariya Orlik.

Moldavian Bureau Examines Kishinev Disturbances

PM1402163189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined the question of the flagrant violations of public order in Kishinev city 22 January 1989.

The resolution adopted notes that certain irresponsible people, hiding behind slogans about restructuring and the rebirth of national self-consciousness, have been persistently striving to destabilize the social and political climate in the republic and trying to cause a split in society and divide people on the grounds of nationality. They often use unlawful means capable of having unpredictable consequences.

On 22 January 1989 a large group of members of the A. Mateyevich Club held an unauthorized gathering and procession along the streets of Kishinev. Along the way this group was joined by many passers-by, including children and youths. The participants in the procession brought public transport to a halt, made provocative appeals and shouted abusive remarks about leaders of party and soviet organs, and fueled unhealthy passions. When representatives of the authorities demanded an end to the outrages, there was no response.

At a session of the club held the same day, certain individuals, laying claim to be a kind of opposition to the existing power structures, tried yet again to impose their biased views of problems of the republic's history and political and socioeconomic development and put forward extremist demands. Provocative rumors and fabrications were circulated there about a murder and attempted murders alleged to have taken place on the basis of interethnic relations, which caused a new wave of hostility.

These events, which agitated a considerable number of Kishinev collectives, were greeted with indignation by the city's population. This is demonstrated by the many condemnations of the violators of public order and also by the responses which have been received and continue to be received by party and soviet organs and the press.

These manifestations were made possible by the absolutely unwarranted tardiness and indecisiveness of leading workers of Kishinev city and its rayons who in the resultant complex situation have been slow to correctly evaluate events and facts and, most importantly, to take urgent practical measures. The city's law enforcement organs proved incapable of stopping the unlawful procession and violations of public order.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau condemned the flagrant violations of public order and attempts by certain extremist individuals to incite people to commit illegal and unconstitutional acts, to fuel interethnic strife, and to destabilize the situation in Kishinev city and the republic.

The Prosecutor's Office and the Moldavian SSR MVD have been instructed in accordance with existing legislation to examine the question of the liability of those guilty of the unlawful acts which took place 22 January 1989. They are to elaborate and take practical steps to increase the timeliness and effectiveness of measures against violators of public order. They are to provide extensive information to the public and the population on this.

The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers and Kishinev Gorispolkom (Comrades M.S. Platon and I.T. Gutsu) are instructed to ensure the strict observance of the procedure established by law for authorizing and staging mass events.

Kishinev party gorkom, gorispolkom, the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee, and the republic's Ministry of Culture have been instructed to implement a package of urgent measures to work with the A. Mateyevich Club in the light of the statute on young people's amateur associations.

The Central Committee Bureau has instructed party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations, in accordance with the CPSU Statutes, to call to account Communists who have strayed from principled party positions and to respond more promptly to instances of ideological compromise among CPSU members. They must constantly update the forms and methods of ideological and political education activity and work persistently to eradicate passivity, lack of initiative, and the propensity for stereotyped approaches. There should be a principled defense of the party's political guidelines, and manifestations of extremism, irresponsibility, and demagoguery must be comprehensively combated. People's growing political initiative must be channeled more actively into practical deeds, and the clear understanding must be instilled among the republic's working people and population that it is only by joint efforts within the united family of USSR peoples and by high output at each workplace that the urgent problems of present-day social development can be solved.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau calls on the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia to adopt a responsible approach to the discussion and solution of the complex questions of sociopolitical life, deeply aware that they can be implemented only by strengthening the unity of all sections of the population and all nationalities and ethnic groups in the republic. All extremist actions and nationalist and chauvinist manifestations alike must be firmly rebuffed in each labor collective by all who really value the ideals of restructuring and renewal.

Georgia Party Resolution on Combatting Corruption

PM1402150189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report under the rubric "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee": "Ruthless Battle Against Negative Phenomena"]

[Text] The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has adopted a resolution on unsatisfactory progress in fulfilling the decisions of meetings of the republic's party-economic aktiv, of Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenums, and of Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau sessions directed at stepping up the struggle against bribery, corruption, theft, and other negative phenomena and on urgent measures to step up this work.

The resolution notes that, despite the measures being taken to strengthen party, state, and labor discipline and to step up the struggle against bribery, protectionism, theft of socialist property, and speculation, the activity of party, soviet, economic, and law enforcement organs to implement the demands of party-economic aktiv meetings, plenums, and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to step up this work does not accord with restructuring's tasks.

It notes that local party committees do not always systematically and consistently combat the corruption permeating many spheres, do not pay due attention to affected sectors such as trade, consumer, and medical services to the population, procurement, the processing and sale of agricultural output, and so on. Moreover, in a number of cases, particularly in Kvarelskiy Rayon, party leaders themselves organize overreporting and other abuses which give rise to corruption, bribery, bribe-taking, theft and appropriation of the people's property.

The decisions of the republican party-economic aktiv meeting of 13 February last year, which demanded that primary party organizations themselves be more actively involved in the struggle against negative phenomena, that daily work be carried out with the party aktiv, and that a consciousness of profound personal involvement and of great responsibility for restructuring's fate be established among Communists, are not being fulfilled.

Soviet ispolkoms, the resolution states, are not restructuring the work of their services and are still being slow to eradicate bureaucracy, red tape, and callousness. And this inevitably leads to the extortion of bribes when deciding questions of housing allocation and examining various requests and appeals by citizens, as happened in Leninskiy and 26 Commissars Rayons in Tbilisi and elsewhere. Instances of arbitrary seizure of land have not

been ended. Because of lack of control and connivance on the part of local organs of power, the illegal construction of individual homes has become widespread in a number of regions, including Tbilisi's suburbs.

Ministries and departments are not satisfactorily fulfilling the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's demands to create a clear-cut system of measures to prevent thefts and official abuses. There are still hotbeds of unprincipled behavior, corruption, and theft in the systems of the ministries of light and local industry, trade, municipal and consumer services, health, and public education, the Gosagroprom, the Georgian Potrebsoyuz, in construction, in transportation, and in other spheres. All this arouses working people's justified indignation and has a corrupting influence on young people.

The total number of crimes exposed connected with bribery is not falling, but fewer and fewer officials implicated in corruption are being exposed and criminal proceedings are mostly instituted against minor figures. In the process of investigation and judicial examination the charges in many cases are downgraded from bribery to swindling and deception of the consumer. Serious shortcomings in investigative work by internal affairs organs and the prosecutor's office and the delay in investigating a whole series of criminal cases of theft (abuses in the procurement of apples in Goriyskiy Rayon and potatoes in Tsalskiy Rayon, at the Marabdinskiy cannery, and others) mean there are no prospects of fully clearing up these crimes and exposing all the officials involved in theft and corruption. The struggle against bribery is virtually nonexistent in law enforcement organs and military commissariats themselves, many of whose employees have lost the moral right to work in them.

The problem of the struggle against bribery is not always covered in a trenchant and uncompromising fashion by the mass media, which often avoid open and impartial dialogue with the appropriate leaders.

It is deemed expedient to hold a republican party aktiv meeting on 11 February 1989 with the following agenda: "On Urgent Tasks of Party, Soviet, Economic, and Law Enforcement Organs To Step Up the Struggle Against Bribery and Corruption and To Impose Order in All Spheres of the Republic's Life."

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau instructed party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to take decisive measures to step up party-political and organizational work and to mobilize Communists to struggle against unprincipled behavior, bribery, theft, protectionism, bureaucracy, and other negative phenomena. They are instructed to ensure the consistent implementation of the demands contained in the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolutions "On the Struggle Against Bureaucracy" and "On Glasnost." In addition, in March this year plenums and meetings of the party-economic aktiv must examine progress in fulfilling the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee decisions on stepping up the struggle against unearned income, bribery, theft of socialist property, and other negative phenomena.

The Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR Councils of Ministers, the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast Ispolkom, gorispolkoms, and rayispolkoms are recommended to discuss at presidium meetings and sessions tasks to overcome bureaucracy, red tape, bribery, other official abuses, and the absence of control in deciding questions of housing allocation and allotting land for the construction of individual homes. Moreover, glasnost must be ensured in work on housing allocation, and also in reactions to instances of illegal decisions.

The Georgian Trade Union Council (Comrade V.N. Siradze) must take measures to boost the activity of trade union organizations and labor collectives in the struggle to establish social justice in each enterprise, organization, establishment, city, and rayon. Republican, city, and rayon trade union committees must also be obliged to develop, jointly with the people's control organs, specific work to organize total workers' control over trade enterprises and the distribution of material wealth.

The Komsomol Central Committee (Comrade D.V. Margvelidze) was told to increase the role and responsibility of primary Komsomol organizations for educating young people in a spirit of intolerance of shortcomings, laxity, mismanagement, and other negative phenomena. The republic's Komsomol must raise the efficiency of "Komsomol Spotlight" events and actively involve Komsomol members in measures to ensure the safekeeping of the people's property.

It is deemed essential for the republic's ministries and departments to examine in March this year at expanded meetings of collegiums to which leaders of subordinate enterprises, organizations, and establishments are invited the state of safekeeping of socialist property and measures to prevent theft, bribery, and squandering of state property, and to outline measures to fulfill the appropriate demands of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

The Bureau demanded that Comrades V.A. Razmadze, Sh.V. Gorgodze, V.A. Sharashenidze, and A.G. Karanadze, leaders of the republic's law enforcement organs and members of the CPSU, take cardinal measures to step up the struggle against organized groupings of dealers, thieves, and bribe-takers and step up the activity of internal affairs organs, the prosecutor's office, and people's courts in exposing and stopping the criminal activity of those engaging in corruption and bribery.

Georgian state television and radio, republican newspaper editorial offices, and GRUZINFORM are told to improve coverage of problems of the struggle against antirestructuring forces and corrupt elements and to assist in every possible way in expanding glasnost and establishing the principles of social justice. It is also expedient to organize in the first 10 days of February 1989 television appearances and press articles by leaders of Georgia's ministries, departments and law enforcement organs giving information on measures being taken against unprincipled behavior, corruption, bribery, theft of socialist property, and other negative phenomena.

Untreated Milk Causes Illness in Shchekino

LD1402114688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Now for an alarming piece of news which the editorial board has received from Shchekino, Tula Oblast. An outbreak of acute intestinal illness has been registered here. One hundred twenty-three citizens, including 27 children, have been affected. It has been established that untreated milk [syroye moloko] is the cause of their indisposition, and the local butter and dairy combine bears the blame for this.

The enterprise has taken no account of technical and sanitary rules and regulations. Equipment and containers were poorly washed and disinfected. The sampling and measuring equipment was not operating, and control over the quality of milk arriving from farms was extremely poor.

Trade organizations had violations on their consciences, too. An extraordinary commission has caused the enterprise to be closed until order is completely restored. Many of those culpable in what has taken place already have had administrative punishment meted out to them, and, in general, criminal proceedings have started with respect to this fact.

Article Analyzes Soviet Criticism of Stalin

PM1502113489 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 8 Feb 89 p 11

[Milovan Djilas "Chronicle" article: "Stalin As Scapegoat"]

[Text] Jozef Vissarionovich Stalin has been assigned the role of scapegoat. This is particularly true in the Soviet Union, where the greatest concentration of "Stalinist" crimes took place. There can be no doubt that Stalin unleashed all manner of evil, including such deeds as only a rich imagination can think up. He did this not only in his capacity as leader of the Communist social system, but also as an individual, as a petty and ruthlessly vindictive tyrant, vulgar and with an insatiable thirst for power and fame. He was unpredictable because of the way in which he identified himself with history, the state, ideology.

When dealing with a completely tyrannical individual like Stalin, it is difficult, but also important to analyze to what extent Stalin's personality was responsible for his tyranny, and to what extent his tyranny had its origins in the tasks and duties forced on him by circumstances, that is, by the one-party state and Marxist-Leninist ideology. An objective analysis of this is very necessary today, to say nothing of its crucial importance for the process of fermentation within Communist parties and especially for the Soviet party, as the source of all other Communism and as Communism's strongest military and ideological superpower.

The constant stream of revelations and the growing criticism of Stalin are today most conspicuous in the Soviet Union. This is both understandable and in a way justified: The awakening from the big sleep under Brezhnev, and the newly acquired sobriety after the addiction to ideological intoxication, have taken place all too quickly for criticism to be able to lay bare the nature of the system and the ideological motives which lay behind it, and which were personified in Stalin's person and the role he played.

But the present moment marks a decisive break, and if the criticism, and particularly the political criticism, of the nature of "Stalinism" were to be halted or delayed, there would be no chance for the new ideas and reforms in the Soviet Union to move beyond a Communist-dominated "enlightened despotism." Soviet society would then inevitably fall into new catastrophic crises, and gloom and uncertainty would continue to grow in the world outside.

What was it that Stalin really wanted, and what did he do? Is there really a "Stalinism" which stands in opposition to the social system created by the revolution and by Lenin?

Until 1927-28 Stalin represented the moderate movement within the party, and there is not a scrap of evidence to suggest that changes in his attitude took place as a result of personality changes. Before 1927-28 he was known to be coarse and hot-blooded, and a realist who aspired to personal power, and he rejected ideological reforms. Even while Lenin was still alive Stalin viewed the party apparatus as a dynamic force and put himself at its head. Like an Oriental despot, Stalin consolidated this force, made it subordinate to him through bloody purges, and relied on it until the very end.

Stalin's "sudden personality change" coincides in time with the change of course in the party, in society, and in the state. Without industrialization and without the collectivization of agriculture, the revolution would have lost its point, and the same would have been true of the ideology in whose name industrialization and collectivization were carried out. The factional fighting—which was unusually venomous because it took place within a

closed and sectarian party—drove Stalin and the movement in the party which he represented to create for himself a convincing profile and to undermine and eliminate his rivals, first Trotskiy, then Bukharin and a number of others. If we add to this the horrors of war, the fascist invasion, and the nonexistent prospects of revolution in Europe, Stalin's emphasis on "Mother Russia" and "Russia the great power" become easier to understand.

Both the party and the dynamic strata in society were fired up and ready to carry out these tasks. These were the young people, the army, the scientific intelligentsia, a large section of the creative intelligentsia, and the poor farmers who flooded into industry. It is true that all this, in the view we now take, could have been carried out almost without the use of force, and certainly without the use of totalitarian ideological force, if the Leninist ideological timetable for the creation of a Communist society had not been taken as the point of departure, and if the new ruling stratum had not deepened and extended its monopoly over all aspects of life.

Nevertheless, there would have been more than enough force and madness under any leader—even under Lenin—as soon as a start had been made on trying to achieve such utopian objectives.

Now people (and not only people in the Soviet Union) are starting to talk about Stalin's madness. But if they are right, there was method in his madness. "Madness" is to be found in the ideology, in the unnatural, in the "madness" of the social system itself. Is it then so odd that the "architect" of this system should also finally lose his reason, isolated in a sea of blood and in the monstrous reality by which he saw himself surrounded?

No, it is impossible to distinguish between Stalin and the system, the ideology, and the party. He symbolizes the initial phase of its development and its full essence: No building can be divorced from its builder. Every attempt to unload the evils and abominations onto Stalin befogs and delays the discussion of what are the central issues in the societal and political problems in the Soviet Union and in the Communist parties, and consequently delays their solution.

It is also an illusion to believe that this discussion can be put off until some point in the future. Communism, the Communist parties and states, can no longer—regardless of how much they subordinate themselves to the monopoly of their leaders—free themselves from all possible "heretical" movements and factions, even within their own ranks. Even a halfhearted "Stalinist" de-Stalinization, which consists of unloading all "mistakes" and "deviations" onto Stalin, undermines and destroys the sacred ideological unity, whose most ardent champion and most totalitarian and ruthless practitioner bore the name of Stalin.

The inconsistencies and one-sidedness of the criticism of Stalin do not conceal the inadequacy of the criticism of the system and the ideology. For even though a whole epoch of the overall history of the Soviet system and of communism is for good reason linked with the name of Stalin, this system, party, and ideology nevertheless arose independently of Stalin and continue to exist today without, and even despite, Stalin.

Gorbachev could not begin to reform anything at all and could not attempt to check the rottenness of the system without criticizing Stalin. But the incomplete nature of this criticism, in that it restricts itself to a critique of Stalin's mistakes and crimes, reveals at the same time the incompleteness of the reforms and of the efforts to preserve the purity and immutability of the system as embodied in the party's role as sole leader. There has been nothing hitherto to indicate that Gorbachev is able to look critically at the system's Leninist *core*. It is less than likely that he will break this taboo.

Nevertheless, with the criticism of Stalin, the Soviet Union or the Soviet system under Gorbachev entered a new phase of its development, which will influence all communist states and parties, though they may today be developing more or less independently. Precisely because "Stalinism" has marked a phase in the history of communism, "de-Stalinization"—regardless of the course it takes—will send shock waves and tremors through all forms of communism. The more thoroughly and consistently "de-Stalinization" is put into practice, and the more it contains of system—and ideological critique—the fewer the tremors and the better the fruits we can expect it to bring forth, both for the "communist" societies and for the world as a whole.

Officer Admits Stalin Began War With Finland

PM1502104689 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 8 Feb 89 p 4

[TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA dispatch: " 'The Soviet Union Started the War Against Finland'"]

[Text] Helsinki—It was Stalin who started the winter war against Finland in November 1939.

So said Soviet Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov in a Finnish interview—and in doing so became the first high-ranking Soviet officer to admit that the Soviet Union and not Finland started the war.

In the past the official Soviet version of history has claimed that Finland initiated hostilities in 1939 by opening fire on Soviet troops in Mainala. Finland has always contested this version and recently several Soviet historians have dissociated themselves from it. Instead they have claimed that it was Stalin who was responsible for the outbreak of war, but they have not said so as clearly and unambiguously as Volkogonov does in the interview with SUOMEN KUVALEHTI magazine.

Dmitriy Volkogonov is not just any Soviet officer. He is head of the Soviet Union's Institute of Military History and is working on a weighty biography of Stalin—a biography which, according to Volkogonov himself, will tell the whole truth about the Soviet dictator.

In the interview Volkogonov pointed to several mistakes made by Stalin prior to the winter war. The first was the nonaggression pact with Hitler's Germany signed 23 August 1939. The morally reprehensible aspect of the past was the "secret addendum," which divided Europe into spheres of interest.

Stalin made a cardinal error when, drunk with power, he proposed border adjustments to Finland in the form of an ultimatum. He was certain that Finland would agree to the demands and consequently underestimated Finland's government, Volkogonov said.

According to Volkogonov, the third mistake was the setting up of the so-called Terijoki government, consisting of exiled Finnish Communists under the leadership of Otto Ville Kuusinen.

But Stalin had no intention of conquering Finland, according to Volkogonov. He simply wanted to make Finland an obedient state in the north, the Soviet colonel general claimed.

Draft Law on Quality Control, Consumer Protection

LD1102203789 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—By TASS commentator Igor Galkin: The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has put to a nationwide discussion a draft law of the USSR on the quality of output and protection of consumer rights.

People in the USSR have long been awaiting the appearance of this legal act. The question of the quality of goods is raised on newspaper pages, in radio and television broadcasts as a matter of urgency today just like the topic of so-called 'deficits' (shortages), or shop queues. As a matter of fact, quality and shortage are interrelated. It is common knowledge that more footwear is produced in the USSR than, say, in the United States. But demand is not satisfied because it is of poor quality and not fashionable.

The economic mechanism now in operation puts to the fore the production of output in money calculation and enterprises give small heed to consumer requirements. There are good many factories and plants in the sphere of production exchange, which monopolised the output of this or another product and dictate their terms to the consumer. The economic reform being effected in this country aims at changing the situation. Consumer interests are moved to the center of the drive to reshape economic relations. The new law will likewise be instrumental to this. Its draft bluntly says that "the requirements to the quality of output are formed by consumers, designers, producers and also state bodies". The consumer stands at the first place.

This demand is buttressed by consumer guaranteed participation in the development of standards, the market, socialist competition among producers, and legal protection of consumer interests.

The draft extends the right to factories and plants to set up on a voluntary basis consumer associations operating on pay-your-own-way principles to overcome suppliers' monopoly position.

Legal protection of consumers has been so ineffective until recently that many national newspapers and television reported like a sensation about the last year's case when Muscovite Mikhail Makhov succeeded in getting his money, with which he paid for a faulty tape recorder in a state store, returned to him through court. The Supreme Court of the USSR passed a special ruling on enhancing trade establishments' responsibility for the sale of goods with production faults. The draft new law supports this trend. It stresses that "enterprises and citizens who sell products of the inadequate quality bear the responsibility specified by the legislation".

Late last year newspapers printed an appeal by the Initiative Group for setting up a new public association of goods and services consumers. Our goal, it said, is to ensure by joint effort the protection of consumer rights, interests and requirements. Activists of consumer movements in many cities and also the Central Council of Trade Unions, organisations of youth, women, veterans, and editorial boards of several newspapers initiated the creation of consumer societies.

A group to give consultative and legal assistance to consumers had been formed at the Central Council of Trade Unions even earlier. Newspapers publish speeches by specialists on various aspects of the struggle for consumer rights. Openness arms consumers with the knowledge of their rights. An open and heated discussion of problems opens the eyes of workers of commerce and industry to a situation where their actions are frequently formulated as none other than monopoly diktat.

The draft supports this movement, legalising the Soviet citizens' right to form on a voluntary basis consumer societies which can be united into unions in districts, regions, republics and in the country as a whole.

Cooperatives Assistance Organization Advertises

LD1402095689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Here is our advertisement. Attention, members of cooperatives! You have opened a cooperative and have started working, but suddenly it has been closed without

valid reasons, or you have been denied an opportunity to expand your sphere of activity, or you are being hampered by all sorts of instructions and orders. Do not despair! In all cases when the law has been violated the Fakt will come to your help. Highly qualified expert lawyers come to your place of work and give you real help in defending the legal guarantees of cooperatives. If necessary, the press center of Fakt will convey information to the central press.

Here is the address of Fakt: Moscow 123308, 41 Khoreshevskoye Shosse, or, better, call the following number: 195-10-13, or 365-67-35.

Newsmen's Access to 'Emergencies' Restricted

PM1302134189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with USSR MVD press bureau chief B. Mikhaylov, conducted by own correspondent A. Illesh under the "From Competent Sources" rubric: "Pass for Emergencies"—time and place not indicated; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] "Speaking at a news conference Belorussian Minister of Internal Affairs V. Piskarev stated that journalists will henceforth be given access to all events, rallies, meetings, and various emergencies on production of special passes issued by the MVD. Newspapermen will otherwise be regarded as being in reach of law and order."

We asked Colonel B. Mikhaylov, chief of the USSR MVD press bureau and candidate of juridicial sciences, to comment on the aforementioned report by IZVESTIYA correspondent N. Matukovskiy.

[Mikhaylov] First, there is no need to interpret the decision to issue journalists special passes as an encroachment upon democracy. But here, I think, the Belorussian minister of internal affairs is interpreting the innovation in an arbitrary way.

[Illesh] What sort of procedure is this, then, and whose initiative brought them about?

[Mikhaylov] In January 1989 the "Regulation on the procedure for representatives of the mass media to be admitted to, and to remain in, localities where measures to ensure public order are in operation" was endorsed by the USSR Defense Ministry, USSR MVD, and, I would ask you to note, the USSR Journalists Union. The title is somewhat bureaucratic in tenor, but, believe me, the appearance of such a document was dictated by experience. The regulation was drawn up on the initiative of the All-Union Council on the Professional Ethics and Rights of the USSR Union of Journalists. Its objective is to create the most favorable working atmosphere for correspondents covering the activity of internal affairs organs. The regulation applies to a so-called "protection zone." The latter is created in localities where measures to ensure public order are being conducted by internal affairs organs and USSR Defense Ministry subunits.

[Illesh] So when and where is a journalist issued this special pass, and under what circumstances?

[Mikhaylov] **Special zones protected by the militia** are set up in connection with natural disasters, industrial accidents, quarantine measures, and rallies, demonstrations, processions, meetings, or other mass concentrations of citizens. **That is where this pass will come into operation.** In all other cases (and this is important!) the working procedure for internal affairs organs' collaboration with journalists remains as it was—open and public.

[Illesh] What specifically do the passes provide for?

[Mikhaylov] Passes, both personalized and those made out to "the bearer," will be issued to ensure that correspondents are able to work in a protection zone. Passes for an editorial office's motor transport are also provided for. The possession of such by a journalist and those accompanying him entitle them to stay in a protection zone, **and officials of internal affairs organs, representatives of the USSR MVD internal forces, and subunits of the Soviet Army are obliged to furnish assistance to representatives of the mass media.** I am convinced that in the modern conditions of democratization of life and expansion of glasnost that this innovation will help our press, radio, and television to cover events connected with emergencies and avoid conflicts. And, they, alas, have occurred.

[Illesh] Nevertheless, Boris Pavlovich, will it not happen that every commonplace situation will be turned into an emergency, that a journalist will not be able to get to where he should be without a pass, and that militia representatives will simply refuse to talk with people without special passes?

[Mikhaylov] Such an "interpretation" of the regulation should not be entertained by anyone. And journalists may consult the documents at the internal affairs administration locally and, of course, monitor the precise observation of the new regulation. And all violations encroaching on the rights of journalists and photographers should be reported to us.

PRAVDA Readers Comment on 'Unofficial' Clubs

PM1402115789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Readers' letters followed by commentary signed "PRAVDA Social Policy and Communist Education Department" under the "Topical Theme" rubric: "Democracy Brooks No Demagoguery"]

[Text] PRAVDA has figuratively described the process of the renewal of our socialist home as a democratic flood. This expression is very apt. We have all begun to

breathe freely but the flood is also raising a considerable amount of scum. This does not, of course, mean that we should turn our backs on all manner of public formations and special-interest clubs and groundlessly find fault with them as some people are doing. I think that it is more useful to channel this energy into the right area.

Now, a word about debates. Speeches there are often dull and confused. Everyone tries to prove they are right by shrieking rather than through reasoned argument. There is a lack of the requisite respect and tact toward one's opponent. Things even reach the point where there are mutual insults and even brawling. Who needs that kind of debate?

I personally believe that a debate can be beneficial when an educated man who is capable of answering any question is the main opponent. That is why I am very concerned that party members, soviet leaders, and the representatives of the creative intelligentsia rarely take part in this work.

A. Kuzmin, war and labor veteran.

I'm very worried about my homeland. I am delighted by restructuring. It is revealing a new world and smashing the barrier screening many of our outrages. We have started telling the truth about our shortcomings and have emerged from the stagnation and darkness. That's good. A great many public formations have already been set up that are allegedly trying to help restructuring, but in fact no visible advantage has as yet been derived from them.

I reckon that democracy and glasnost cannot be introduced without a sense of responsibility. Proceedings must be instituted against people who flout the rules and norms of life, who don't take the majority into account, and who fail to observe the rules of socialist society. At present we can see laxity quite often. If each of us stirs up trouble, we'll ruin the matter.

Don't get me wrong, I'm not against public formations and clubs. I'm in favor of moving from words to actions. I'm in favor of some clubs, for instance, combating embezzlement of socialist property, others concentrating on educating adolescents, and still others really getting involved in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism.... That is the field of activity where the "informals" could devote their efforts. Enough idle chatter. Let's all harness ourselves together and drag our load forward rather than in different directions. Let's not confuse democracy with demagoguery.

V. Krukovich, construction worker at Minsk Oblast's Dzerzhinskiy Kolkhoz.

Great work is under way in our country to renew society. If we had continued to live as before, crisis and catastrophe would have been inevitable. Herein lies the historic need for restructuring.

What role do the "informals" play here? Were they, possibly, the Chernyshevskiy's and Gertsen's who roused our public opinion? Perhaps they're the main motive force of restructuring? Not at all. The party inspired and organized restructuring. People standing at the work bench, working in the fields, and working in quite official creative unions are the motive forces of restructuring.

Despite their popular character and variety, the "informals" mostly bear the mark of political and social juvenility and incompetence: They try to give themselves anticonstitutional rights and freedoms and often abandon socialist pluralism for bourgeois pluralism and illegal hooligan actions.

G. Tyagunov, Leningrad.

[PRAVDA Social Policy and Communist Education Department comment]

The editorial mailbag contains many letters like that. And also, moreover, there have been many telephone calls, particularly from the Baltic area, Belorussia, and Moldavia, regarding unofficial associations and clubs.

There are more than 60,000 of them in the country today. The activity of many of them reflects the extremely broad range of interests among working people and young students, and reflects their desire to take a more active part in the renewal of our socialist home. PRAVDA has already talked about the fruitful work of the Social Initiatives Foundation that was set up in Moscow. The broad "Miloserdiye" movement launched on the initiative of writer D. Granin deserves support. "Informals" have to their credit the organization of sensible recreational activities, the education of adolescents, the protection of historical and cultural monuments, and a great deal else.

Meetings of party and soviet workers and scientists with "informals," during which there is frank dialogue and principled discussion of the progress of restructuring and its pluses and minuses, facilitate the development of this great and difficult work. The practical work of party committees where propaganda centers have been set up deserves attention. These centers hold debates and talk with members of the unofficial movement about the steps being taken to eliminate existing shortcomings.

However, this work has been let slide in a number of places. No one registers societies and clubs and no one works with them. The legal basis for their creation and activity is assuming particular topicality today. The current situation with regard to special interest clubs and associations and various kinds of instructions often contravenes the law.

Blatant attacks on our system are being voiced and cadres are being defamed in a number of places under the guise of democratization, glasnost, and upholding

national consciousness. It must be acknowledged that some people have lost their heads in the face of the new phenomena in our life. People who are above all endeavoring to satisfy personal ambitions, careerists, and extremists have also taken advantage of this. Attempts are being made to create political structures like the now disbanded "Karabakh" and "Krunk" committees and their ilk, to oppose party organs.

The situation under discussion now requires clear assessments and at the same time well-considered and uncompromising actions. How can there be compromise, say, with the leaders of those formations that are endeavoring to push people down the path of lawlessness, anarchy, destabilizing the situation and kindling interethnic dissension under cover of demagogic slogans? It is also clear that we must foster in working people lofty political culture and the ability to live and work under conditions of democracy—which is incompatible with irresponsibility and lack of discipline.

Hence the simple truism: Party committees must radically change the forms and methods of their work among the masses and in places of residence. It is their task to ensure an enterprising and positive approach when formulating and resolving acute questions.

The mass media play a particular role in this great work. However, it must be regrettably noted that some press articles and television and radio broadcasts provided one-sided coverage of the formations' activity and hush up the negative aspects. Some journalist cadres have effectively lost their sense of responsibility to the party and the country and are demonstrating political immaturity and lack of understanding of the deep-seated and current tasks of restructuring. All the positive events in the country must be given extensive coverage and the shortcomings constructively criticized.

Readers Question Glavlit Chief on Censorship

PM1402142989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[E. Parkhomovskiy feature comprising readers' letters to Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Boldyrev, chief of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, and his responses to them under the rubric "Readers' Dialogue With Chief of the USSR Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press": "More Democracy—Fewer Secrets"; first and last paragraphs are introduction and conclusion]

[Text] Since the publication of our IZVESTIYA correspondent's conversation with Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Boldyrev, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press (USSR Glavlit), under the heading "More Democracy—Fewer Secrets" (IZVESTIYA No 308, 1988), the editorial office has been flooded with mail. Noting the frankness of this conversation with satisfaction, and the fact that democratization has also affected the work of Glavlit, the letter writers have particularly drawn attention to V. Boldyrev's idea that "it is essential to overcome the force of inertia preventing certain departments—including our own, it must be confessed—from shaking off the old approaches and stereotyped attitudes." We selected several letters, which seemed to us to be the most typical and principled, and asked V. Boldyrev to answer them in the same spirit of frankness. This produced the dialogue we publish below.

T. Gladkov, a writer from Moscow:

"I do not intend to enlarge on the benefits of publishing the conversation with V. Boldyrev—they are self-evident from the uniqueness of the conversation alone. However, I would like to draw your attention and the attention of V. Boldyrev himself to two points which featured only briefly in the conversation. Everyone, or at least people in the literary world, are well aware of the rigid stand taken in many cases by departmental censorship—from the Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology to the press bureau of virtually every ministry in existence. Why is their 'veto' binding on members of Glavlit? Would it not be better if the country were to have just one keeper of state secrets—the USSR Glavlit? The relevant departments would simply convey to this institution those questions which, in their opinion, should not be published in the open press. And even this would not happen automatically: It would depend on the decision made by Glavlit, following the discussion of every such subject with authoritative institutions and specialists.

"And the second point. V. Boldyrev said that the import of foreign books on political subjects into the country is virtually unimpeded—'with rare exceptions.' These infamous 'rare' exceptions allow customs officials to confiscate any book in Russian at their own discretion, or even a wall calendar if it contains pictures of skimpily clad beauties. I would like Comrade Boldyrev to say how and where one can get hold of a list of books (titles) or authors whose import into the Soviet Union is prohibited. I would be very grateful to Comrade Boldyrev if he would answer my questions."

V. Boldyrev:

T. Gladkov's question about "departmental censorship" is perfectly fair. In the conversation to which he has responded I mentioned that many press restrictions which existed until recently were departmental in nature and were not so much concerned with protecting state secrets as concealing shortcomings in the activity of the departments themselves. Our work to remove such restrictions is still continuing.

Let me give you a recent example. Information on cases of seafish and non-fish objects being jettisoned overboard used to be banned from publication. But the Ministry of the Fish Industry, at whose suggestion this restriction had originally been introduced, has agreed

with our arguments, backed up by the opinion of press organs, that the concealment of these facts from public attention and open criticism only plays into the hands of those whose wasteful, irresponsible attitude is damaging to the national economy and the environment. This restriction has now been lifted. Our plans for the future fully accord with T. Gladkov's suggestion: Press restrictions must apply to truly secret information, and must be set out in such a way that we have to resort to consultations with and ratification by other ministries and departments as little as possible.

About importing foreign publications of a political nature into the country. There is no list and cannot be any list of authors or books prohibited for import into the Soviet Union. In this matter there exists a "presumption of permission," if I may express it as such. Everything is allowed through without impediment, with the exception of material calling for the overthrow of the Soviet state and social system, or material propagandizing war, terrorism, violence, racism, national exclusivity, religious hatred, or pornography.

A. Shchelgunov, a sociologist from the "Uralelement" Plant in Chelyabinsk Oblast:

"I believe that there simply cannot be any place today for any kind of press censorship, and that the USSR Glavlit should be abolished—and all its local bodies with it. It still remains 'part of the braking mechanism in the bureaucratic-edict system that has taken shape in our society,' which V. Boldyrev regards as a thing of the past. What is more, in my opinion, however sophisticated you make it, censorship remains a permanent attribute of the existence of the bureaucratic-edict system, and evidence of its strength. Would it not be better to lay the responsibility for preserving state secrets on those to whom these secrets have been directly entrusted, rather than on journalists—and certainly not on the censors?"

V. Boldyrev:

First of all, the proposal to lay the responsibility for preserving secrets on those to whom these secrets are entrusted. I have already answered this question in our published conversation. But, as it has come up again, I can add something to what I have already said. Let us take a look at who these people, the keepers of secrets, are. For the most part, they are leaders of industrial sectors and their production units, and scientists and specialists working in certain fields of science and technology. As a rule, they know what kind of information constitutes a state secret, but only in their own field. Quite often they do not know whether a publication can disclose material or developments which are being used for defense purposes, for example.

Let us suppose that Glavlit did not exist. Who would determine whether a state secret had been divulged in a publication, and bring charges against those guilty of breaking the law? The ministries and departments themselves, which (and such cases do happen) interpret these questions in different ways, sometimes making the issue subordinate to their own narrow departmental interests? Or, as some people think, the Public Prosecutor's Office, which may refer a case of divulgence to the court after the secrets have been disclosed? What is more, this system would require organizations to establish additional services of specialist scientists and security personnel (as foreign firms do to protect their "company" secrets) in order to protect intellectual property. This would mean taking specialists away from their main duties, increasing the numbers of staff, and considerably increasing material expenditure.

What would be the point of all this, when the small but professionally well- trained Glavlit staff fulfills this task in the main?

I. Magomedov from the Dagestan ASSR:

"In the conversation between your IZVESTIYA correspondent and the chief of Glavlit I read the following words: 'The procedure for sending religious literature to private addresses has been considerably simplified.' This means that people can gain access to religious literature. I would like to find out in more detail whether it is possible to acquire Muslim religious literature and, if so, where and how?"

V. Boldyrev:

If this kind of literature is sent to the address of the writer of this letter from abroad, it will reach him without any problem. But as far as the place and procedure for acquiring religious literature are concerned, these questions do not fall within the Glavlit's competence. Obviously Comrade Magomedov must apply to the relevant religious organizations.

I. Teterev, candidate of technical sciences and lecturer from Tyumen:

"Doctor V. Boldyrev painted a cheerful picture of the transformations being undergone by Glavlit. In reality, however, no such thing is happening. For every item which we wish to publish we are forced to complete a so-called expert's report (we are talking about publications of a technical nature—editor). Previously, this consisted of two pages, but now there are four. It contains every bureaucratic obstacle imaginable! If you do not confirm that you are a fool and that your article contains nothing new, you should not hold out too much hope of publication. So we lie every hour of every day. This is because any scientific article naturally contains new elements. It goes without saying that these elements will not go unnoticed abroad. Just as anything new they publish does not go unnoticed. Such is the nature of scientific development. So why do we have to practice self-deception, hiding behind the mania for secrecy? Why do we waste so much paper on filling out 'reports'

which no one needs? I propose that we simplify the procedure by which scientific articles undergo examination by experts, abolish these so-called expert reports, and give the author the right to publish his own results."

V. Boldyrev:

I. Teterev obviously works in one of those organizations where the new procedure for preparing material for the press has yet to become established, and so he claims that this procedure has not been simplified in any way. In reality, however, a new interdepartmental regulation on the procedure for preparing material for publication came into force early last summer. It envisages a fundamentally new type of expert's report that is no more than half a page long and only needs one signature. In the past this report would be signed by every member of the commission—often five or more people. Moreover, the experts' decision can now be registered by putting the appropriate stamp on the item. The range of people with the right to carry out an expert examination is now broader. The size and composition of the expert commission, its work procedure, and also the form of the author's involvement in the examination of his material are no longer decided from above but by the leaders of the organization concerned. I cannot share the opinion that these expert commissions should be abolished and the right to assess the possibility of publication given to the author himself. The practice of Glavlit's work shows that a considerable amount of secret information has hitherto had to be removed from material we have monitored that has not been through a commission of experts. The author often simply does not possess the necessary information to establish the possibilities for utilizing his results. He also cannot know all the press restrictions. That is the responsibility of the experts, who undergo special training for this purpose. We are far from idealizing the work of the experts—they sometimes take a formalistic approach to the examination of material—but we consider their involvement in preparing material for publication to be necessary at the present stage.

S. Nikiforov, a journalist from Moscow:

"The Law on the Press has been discussed for quite some time now. I have heard that attempts to publish a so-called alternative draft of this law have been unsuccessful. The story is that Glavlit raised objections. Has it not exceeded its powers in this?"

V. Boldyrev:

The alternative draft could have been published if the main draft itself had been published—the one to which the proposed draft is an alternative. As the main draft has yet to be published, it would be at best illogical to publish an alternative to it and argue with it. It will be another matter entirely when the draft is complete and submitted for discussion with the aim of incorporating every possible amendment and addendum in it. If journalists wanted to publish just a draft containing proposals on the future Law on the Press rather than an "alternative" draft, this would be perfectly logical and no one would object. In confirmation of my words I can quote an entire page in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of 18 January under the rubric "The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Reception Room," which gives a detailed account of the opinion of many comrades on the form they would like to see the future law take.

A. Izvekov from Leningrad:

"I am interested in the question of erotic publications touched on in the conversation with V. Boldyrev, chief of Glavlit. I have thought about the infamous hypocritical morality and about what I see as our stagnation in the sphere of sexual propaganda and culture. It is obvious why many of our people show great interest in erotic products when they go abroad. After all, in our country they are deprived of this opportunity, or take the opportunity illegally. I think that we should shake ourselves free of the burden of prejudice and lift restrictions on the import of and access to such products, with the exception of 'dirty' and 'bad' examples. In addition to this, I believe we should begin the mass production of quality popular-scientific and educational literature on sex, sex life, and the art of love."

V. Boldyrev:

In our published conversation we did say that literature on many medical aspects is totally free of control by Glavlit bodies. They include questions of anatomy, physiology, sexology, and the study of sexual diseases.

What is more, there have not been any cases in our work when we have banned material propagandizing the beauty of the human body or literature on sex life. Incidentally, dozens of works like these have been published in recent years by central and local publishing houses. About 18 months ago, the Lithuanian "Mintis" Publishing House brought out a collection by Rimantas Dikhavichyus entitled "Flowers Among Flowers." Almost half of the collection consisted of photographs of the naked female form. But they were taken by a real artist. Consequently, our staff naturally regarded the collection as a poem about beauty and not as vulgar eroticism. It is possible that there are not enough publications like these, literary publications included, but this is not really a question for us: The selection of works and decision on the number of copies are the responsibility of the publishing organizations themselves. Glavlit's task in this area is very narrow and specific: To prevent the circulation of pornography—or, in other words, those "dirty" and "bad" examples A. Izvekov mentioned.

With regard to pornographic material being brought into the country—under the 1979 World Postal Convention, to which the Soviet Union is signatory, it is forbidden to send "material of an obscene or immoral nature" in

international postal dispatches (Article 36, clause 4). Such material cannot be returned to the sender or delivered to the addressee, but must be destroyed on the spot....

In conclusion, I would like to add to what I said during our last conversation about work to transfer books from "special storage" to general library stocks. It was recently decided to transfer all works previously published in the Soviet Union by authors who have left the country for various reasons in the last few decades. These authors include V. Aksenov, G. Vladimov, V. Voynovich, A. Galich, A. Gladilin, A. Zinovyev, L. Kopelev, V. Maksimov, V. Nekrasov, A. Sinyavskiy, A. Solzhenitsyn, Ye. Etkind, and others.

In publishing readers' questions and V. Boldyrev's answers, we take satisfaction in noting the open nature of this dialogue and Glavlit's efforts to become a logical part of the democratic state mechanism. Readers will possibly find reasons to express alternative opinions and share them with the editorial office. Well, this will only help to fulfill the task formulated by the chief of Glavlit in the conversation entitled "More Democracy—Fewer Secrets": "We feel it is necessary to provide for a mechanism whereby Glavlit's activity is monitored not only by state bodies but also by the public—and primarily by the mass media themselves."

Public To Gain Access to USSR Crime Statistics

LD1402142289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (TASS)—Correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

From now on, the Soviet media—and consequently the Soviet public—will have access to USSR crime figures, which have been regarded as secret ever since 1933. This was reported at a news conference held today in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Speaking to journalists, Major General Anatoliy Smirnov, head of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Information Center, stressed how important it is to make public the picture of crime in the country. He noted that without freely available staistics, which swell the numbers of people helping the law enforcement bodies, even the most perfect punitive apparatus cannot be effective.

At the moment, said Anatoliy Smirnov, the crime statistics give little comfort. Last year 1,867,223 crimes were recorded in the USSR, which was 68,700 more than the previous year. Street crime rose in all the union republics with the exception of Georgia (Transcaucasus). The number of premeditated murders increased (1987—14,651; 1988—16,710), as did rapes (16,765 and 17,658, respectively), muggings (9,047 and 12,916), theft (46,485 and 67,114), and intentional grevious bodily harm (28,250 and 37,191). At the same time, the number of cases of theft of state or public property through misappropriation, embezzlement, and abuse of position fell from 96,986 in 1987 to 87,450 in 1988; while the number of cases of fraud fell from 23,897 to 21,543.

Anatoliy Smirnov reported that 32 percent of those convicted are sentenced to deprivation of liberty. In the view of the specialists, it will be possible to reduce this figure to 24 percent with the introduction in the USSR of the new criminal legislation, the draft of which currently is being discussed by the public at large. The greatest number of individuals in colonies was in 1985. There now is a sharp decrease in the number of those convicted and serving sentences; over the past 2 years it has dropped by 40 percent. One-third of those who currently are serving sentences are people convicted three or more times. The number of foreign citizens who commit crimes (mainly speculating) on the territory of the USSR has increased.

"One frequently has occasion to encounter distortions of the picture of crime in the USSR by Western mass media, said Anatoliy Smirnov. In part, this can be explained by a shortage of information in the possession of foreign journalists accredited in Moscow. I think this "deficit" now will begin to disappear, but how is one to explain the fact that on 16 February last year the U.S. NEWSWEEK magazine published a caricature that intimated outright that the existing system of colonies for those who have been sentenced in the USSR is a copy of the fearful, repressive apparatus of the Stalin period, the Main Directorate of Labor Camps (Gulag). There is no point in explaining the difference here, it is too obvious, but why should there be speculation about our grief, our memories of those terrifying times of lawlessness of which we now speak openly?"

Anatoliy Smirnov stated that from now on information about crime in the USSR would be given to journalists on a regular basis.

MVD Official on Juvenile Crime, Racketeering

LD1102174589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1945 GMT 10 Feb 89

[From the "View" program; for further reportage on the 6 February MVD session on crime statistics, see the 8 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 45-47]

[Text] A guest in our studio today is Olga Dvoretskaya, a senior lieutenant in the militia. She will present a report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD].

[Dvoretskaya] Good evening, my information today is about the session of the collegium of the USSR MVD which took place on 6 February and summed up the results of work over the past year. Today I have chosen to focus my report on child crime because in the opinion of specialists this group is most subject to various criminal manifestations.

While there are about 4 crimes per 1000 adults per year, for 1000 juveniles the number of crimes rises to 10. That is 2.5 times greater. According to statistics there was a 25 percent rise in the number of juveniles committing crimes while drunk. Also, 88,000 juveniles committed crimes as part of a group.

And the nature of criminal actions is changing. Of late it is becoming clearly mercenary in nature, that is, burglaries, robberies, and muggings. Moreover, the collegium noted, the level of relapse into crime is much higher among juveniles than among the most dangerous recidivists.

Here is another figure: 100,000 juveniles registered at children's rooms of the Inspectorate for Juvenile Affairs have already been sentenced to deprivation of liberty, or have suspended sentences or have had conditional sentences.

Here is another report which does not concern child crimes but was also discussed at the collegium. Of late there has been an increase in racketeering. Your program has run a feature about that. It has been found that one in every three racketeers has a criminal record. They operate very openly and cynically, of course, but their actions are embroidered by rumors and this increases the number of people dissatisfied with the militia's work. However, here is a very interesting fact: The victims do not turn to the militia for help. Last year 600 cases of racketeering were discovered but in 460 cases the racketeering was discovered without the help of the victims. That is, they did not report it. So these figures totally refute the accusations that the militia is not doing its job. And in this case the efficiency of our work depends to a large extent on how much the victims want us to help and protect them.

Economic

Official Cites Importance of Foreign Patents

LD1002175189 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—Over 500 Soviet inventions were patented abroad in the past year while almost 1,200 foreign inventions—in the Soviet Union, a TASS correspondent has been told by Mikhail Gorodisskiy, general director of the Foreign Economic Association Soyuzpatent under the Chamber of Trade and Industry of the USSR. Soyuzpatent, the USSR's only self-sufficient patent organization, received net profits of about 5 million roubles in 1988.

But meanwhile the share of Soviet inventions patented abroad is so far insignificant. Up to 80,000 inventions are registered in the USSR every year and only 1-1.5 percent of the total are granted patents abroad. Therefore a change in the patenting policy and its invigoration are the main tasks of the Soyuzpatent. It is necessary to make patenting in the USSR one of the basic elements of foreign economic commercial activities.

The general director believes that it is the enterprise introducing the invention, but not the state agency, that should decide to patent that or any other invention. In the new economic conditions Soviet enterprises which have foreign currency funds have every possibility for that.

The Soyuzpatent, the industrial property protection section under the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the USSR, and other interested organizations are now participating in the work of drafting provisions of Soviet legislation on inventions. This legislation should not limit the rights of inventors but should stimulate their work.

Mikhail Gorodisskiy said that his association is carrying out work to invigorate patenting of foreign inventions in the USSR. It is planned, for instance, to start issuing patents to foreign companies for their developments in chemistry.

'Earned Resources' Advocated, Not Foreign Loans

PM1302142189 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 6, Feb 89 (Signed to Press 2 Feb 89) p 23

[Article by T. Valovaya under the rubric "Polemical Notes": "Who Needs Restructuring on Credit?"]

[Text] Readers will obviously already be familiar with the staggering figure which has been cited by the mass news media more than once: The country's foreign currency revenue from sales of petroleum and petroleum products alone on the world market totaled $176 billion in the decade from 1974 to 1984. That does not include income from the sales of other raw material commodities such as gas, timber, and metals. What happened to these astronomical sums of money? Why were our "petrorubles" not used to produce lasting positive shifts in the development of the national economy?

It is necessary today to provide clear-cut, principled answers to these questions. Above all, because from time to time there surfaces in articles and statements by our prominent journalists a sort of nostalgia for the "petrorubles" period, when it was possible at one fell swoop, without bothering to really solve socioeconomic problems, to patch up the holes in the consumer market. And this nostalgia finds expression above all in sweeping calls for a mass "swoop" on international financial markets. Thus in an article entitled "Either Force or the Ruble" in the January issue of ZNAMYA. Shmelev again returns to his "idee fixe," again suggesting that we take out loans of several tens of billions of dollars and purchase consumer goods with them.

EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA has already carried articles on this topic ("Ensuring That Advances Do Not Become Debts" and "Restructuring of the Economy: Competence and Glasnost," in issues No 16 and 43, 1988). Since, as N. Shmelev writes, the arguments of his opponents have failed to convince him, it is obviously necessary to return to this topical problem again.

So should we take out loans or not? In the search for an answer to this truly "Hamlet-like dilemma," it is necessary above all to bear in mind that our country already has a foreign debt which has been rising in recent years. Unfortunately, the competent departments do not publish information about the size of our loans. And—possibly not least because of the absence of reliable information about the USSR's foreign debt—readers sometimes allow themselves to be persuaded that taking out new loans is quite safe.

For want of official statistics, we are having to use other people's information. The chart that we reprint from Britain's THE ECONOMIST [Valovaya's article is accompanied by a bar chart attributed to THE ECONOMIST and showing debts in convertible currency for the USSR and CEMA banks, Poland, the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, the CSSR, and Romania], which is based on Western estimates of socialist countries' debts, indicates quite clearly that these debts have increased substantially in recent years. Thus the debt of the Soviet Union in convertible currency (together with the loans taken out by CEMA international banks, which account for relatively small sums), according to the magazine's estimate, increased from $28 billion at the end of 1982 to $40 billion by the end of 1988. The Soviet Union does, of course, have considerable sums of money deposited in Western bank accounts. But even assuming that all this money could be channeled into repaying debts, the country's net debt at the end of 1988 would total $25 billion, as against $18 billion at the end of 1982.

Is our debt really so insignificant that we can afford to continue to increase it? If you proceed from the current international interest rate for credits and repayment rules, it is obvious that approximately 50 percent of the country's income in convertible currency already goes to service our foreign debt. If we, as is being proposed, take out loans of a further $30-40 billion—that is, if, to all intents and purposes, we double our debt—then the country's entire foreign currency income will have to go to creditors. The practical experience of a number of developing countries illustrates that such a situation is quite possible.

Trying to get out of this logical impasse and to avoid answering the question of how we will pay the bill, N. Shmelev resorts to a device which is altogether impermissible, in my opinion. But allow me to quote in full this passage, which is of crucial importance for his argument.

"How will we pay? That is now a question of whether or not we have faith in the seriousness of our own intentions, in the need for and the success of our restructuring, in the effectiveness of the newly created system of incentives, and in the efficiency of the new economic mechanism. There is only one reason not to borrow: if we secretly believe that we are condemned to vegetate forever, that we will never succeed at anything, that never, under any circumstances, will our output make a real breakthrough into world markets, and that an 'open economy' is the road for the rest of the world but not for us."

His logic is this: People who deny the need to take out foreign loans do not believe in the success of restructuring, and, conversely, calls to take out loans are proof of commitment to the ideas of restructuring.

Other journalists resort to an even more dubious device, claiming that unless large loans are taken out, people will lose faith in restructuring. They argue that we will thus doom to failure the grand socioeconomic transformations which we have begun. What is this, if not an attempt to exert direct pressure on public opinion and various departments without revealing the true situation in this sphere of economic management? Is this done through ignorance or...?

Let us try, without emotion, to work out, at least approximately, what the consequences of the step proposed by the author would be. As is known, there are different kinds of credit. In terms of both purpose and duration. What kind of credits is N. Shmelev advocating? Essentially, credits to purchase consumer goods, and most certainly not "investment" credits, as the author tries to convince us. Investment credits are money invested in actual production. Recently, as already reported in the press, the USSR has obtained major credits to purchase equipment, particularly for the light and food industry. Such credits are normal international practice. They may be granted on favorable terms and serve as a stimulus for the development of the economy. The prospect of the production of competitive goods serves, as a rule, as a guarantee of their repayment.

Obtaining credits for the purchase of consumer goods would clearly be possible only thanks to the unblemished reputation of the Soviet Union in the money markets. But how are we to maintain this reputation in the future?

Such credits, to put it crudely, will be gobbled up. Since they will not ensure increased production of quality goods, how are we going to repay them? Obviously, at the expense of the state's centralized foreign currency funds. Can we expect these funds to be sharply replenished over the next few years? I venture to doubt this. I am convinced, no less than N. Shmelev, that restructuring will help enterprises to break into world markets and eliminate our dependence—humiliating for a big power—on conditions in the world market for raw

materials and energy sources. However, to claim that it will be possible in the next few years to replenish our central foreign currency funds with tens of billions of dollars is a pipedream.

We are carrying out restructuring not in order to take out and repay credits and pay the interest on them, but in order to strengthen the economy for ourselves, for our people. And the new modern output will be used above all to modernize our industry and to saturate the domestic market. That is the first point. And second, it is not enough merely to produce competitive output, it also has to be sold. Conquering world markets is not an easy task. It demands painstaking, persistent work to advertise and market our output and build up a network of outlets for it abroad. Soviet enterprises are going to encounter extremely fierce competition in world markets, and to believe that this struggle can be won overnight is a dangerous misconception.

Even today we have things to offer to Western consumers. However, it is not all that simple to reach them. When competitors become dangerous, even the most developed countries resort to measures which, though condemned by the international community, are nonetheless very reliable—customs duties, nontariff restrictions, direct bans on imports. And Soviet enterprises which have long engaged in foreign economic activity are all too familiar with these measures. I was told at the Saratov electrical units association, for instance, that it is unprofitable for them to export household freezers although they meet the highest demands. The point is that the "Common Market" countries have introduced high customs duties which have made Soviet freezers uncompetitive.

Naturally, purposeful work to eliminate discrimination against Soviet goods and to extend to Soviet producers the normal rules of foreign economic activity is under way and will continue. However, to believe that in exchange for our restructuring and glasnost, so to speak, we will be given unimpeded access to Western markets is utopianism. Business is business. And the Western economy and society are governed entirely by its laws.

However, even when these obstacles have been surmounted—goods of world standard have been produced and sold for convertible currency—the question of how we repay our debts has not been removed from the agenda. Who will get the currency? Above all the enterprise which earned it. Such is the logic of the economic reform. True, enterprises pay a substantial part of the funds into the state budget. But is that enough to cover the debts? Hardly. What then? Encroach on the enterprises' share? Requisition, as in the past, the funds that they have earned? But that would mean undermining their faith in the reform, which in itself is unacceptable. However, it would be no less dangerous to deprive enterprises of the opportunity to spend the earned cash on priority needs—production reconstruction, purchase of components, and the advertising and marketing of output. After all, this would undermine the future position of our enterprises in world markets. We would be cutting off our nose to spite our face....

In calling for massive purchases of consumer goods abroad, certain economists use another—in their opinion—very weighty argument. They claim that this is a very lucrative business for the state. The retail prices for household electrical goods, clothes, footwear, and other consumer goods are much higher on the domestic market than the wholesale prices at which we acquire them from foreign firms. There is a grain of truth in this. But what is the origin of the myths about the extraordinary profits produced by importing consumer goods? In the past, the former Ministry of Foreign Trade, in an effort to prove the "quality" of its work, claimed that the budget effect of its import operations was 1 to 10. Certain of our economists fell for this departmental bait and, parroting the Ministry of Foreign Trade, began to expound the thesis of the 10-fold profitability of foreign trade operations.

Furthermore, talking about this question, it will do no harm to mention social justice. Does this mean that certain people will, thanks to the credits, be able to enjoy expensive imported goods while the bill will be footed by the state, by all members of society? Will this approach help alleviate the strain in the consumer market for everyday goods? Clearly, this is unlikely.

Consequently, it is by no means enough to believe in the success of restructuring and the economic reform in order to venture to sharply increase the country's foreign debt. And it is very unseemly to label those who object to this foolhardy step "opponents of restructuring."

The advocates of foreign loans try to use the prestige of highly respected foreign scientists in their arguments. Yet different viewpoints prevail even among Western experts.

Not so long ago THE NEW YORK TIMES published an article by the influential U.S. Senator Bill Bradley. In it he notes, for instance, that "cheap credits play into the hands of the opponents of restructuring because they postpone the day of decision. Without answering the fundamental questions, it is possible only to offer temporary fixes for problems like shortages, inflation, corruption, and the falling labor productivity from which the Soviet economy is suffering. What Moscow needs from the West is not cheap credits but assistance in creating a more efficient economy and the strengthening of security throughout the world."

For our part we will not label the advocates of credits "opponents of restructuring," but it is possible to agree with the U.S. politician on many points. We cannot implement restructuring on credit. Nor can we impoverish future generations by both selling off the country's natural resources on a dangerous scale and taking out unjustified foreign loans. Debates in which the opponent, even before his viewpoint has been heard, is

immediately relegated to the "ranks of the unbelievers" so far as restructuring is concerned and in which strong psychological pressure is brought to bear on him in this way, are not likely to bear much fruit.

The best way to discredit a cause is to render it absurd. Unfortunately, we sometimes come across attempts, even in the utterances of our prominent journalists, to suggest bold, "cavalry-charge" solutions to the problem, rather than comprehensive, competent analysis.

What we need more than anything today are sober calculations based on facts rather than emotions. The protracted debate on international credits indicates that the situation in this sphere of the economy has still not been fully understood by broad sections of the public. This is partly the result of the lack of reliable information. Hence the readiness of a certain section of the population to believe claims that "foreign countries will help us out."

We have a right to know the size of the country's foreign debt and its structure, to know what the loans that have been taken out have been spent on and how they are recouping their cost. All decisions on new loans must, without fail, be discussed with the participation of the broad scientific public and reported by the mass media. Decisions on the utilization of the country's foreign currency revenue must also be made in an atmosphere of maximum glasnost and democracy. It is obvious that an urgent long-term outline of import priorities compiled on the basis of a study of various options is needed. The population must be provided with comprehensive, reliable information about what imported goods will be purchased in the near future and in what quantities.

Unquestionably, the trade system handling these goods must also be improved. Workers' control could play an important role here.

A more balanced imports strategy could indeed help to improve the situation in the consumer market. However, it must be implemented not on credit but on the basis of earned resources.

Economist Examines Theory of State Ownership

PM1302152189 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 6, Feb 89 (Signed to Press 2 Feb 89) p 14

[Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Seleznev article under the rubric "Scientific Thought: Quests, Debates, Solutions": "Ownership: State and Cooperative"]

[Text] In the course of the ongoing debate about ways to renew socialist ownership relations, some economists have questioned the tenet that state ownership in our country is ownership by the whole people. They perceive state property only as the material base of the bureaucracy which is actually in charge of it. It is also claimed that an alternative to this kind of development was provided by Lenin's cooperative plan, by his idea of the entire population's wholesale membership of cooperatives in all spheres of society's life. Under this plan, the means of production were allegedly to become the property of the whole people and were to be leased out to cooperatives in small parts....

The need for the state form of ownership by the whole people and the role of cooperative ownership in the conditions of socialism were indeed substantiated by V.I. Lenin. The socialist nature of cooperatives is actually determined by the fact that the state owns the land and the basic means of production.

Emphasizing the leading role of state ownership, V.I. Lenin did not propose that all state property be leased out to cooperatives or that state ownership be altogether rejected. Nevertheless, foreseeing the likelihood of excessive statization and bureaucratization in centralized management, as far back as the early twenties V.I. Lenin started to ponder the future economic forms of appropriation by the whole people. He pressed for thorough study by every collective of questions concerning the economic realization of ownership—through collectives' participation in production management, on the basis of economic accountability. It was correspondingly intended to give more thought to lease relations.

Touching on the question of land leasing by sovkhozes, V.I. Lenin wrote in his letter to D. Kurskiy on 25 October 1921: "The state is the owner, the sovkhoz lessee cultivates. He is actually not a lessee, and this is not a lease as such.

"This is rather a transmission of management.

"This ought to be examined in more detail and at greater depth." (Vol 53, p 304)

What is striking here is V.I. Lenin's scientific rigor: He deemed it more appropriate to use the term "transmission of management" since the classic lease assumes various owners and the lessee's freedom to use the leased property and the produced output. This is why it is expedient to apply not so much leasing in the broad sense of the word, but lease contracts as a form of economic accountability with certain commitments to society in the sphere of production for the purpose of satisfying specific needs.

Another highly valuable pointer for us today is the fact that V.I. Lenin demanded more in-depth examination of the economic meaning of leasing. We find a warning against stereotyped dogmatic approaches to solving this question in a memorandum to N. Osinskiy dated 1 April 1922. Stating his view on the question of conditions governing the application of hired labor in agriculture and the leasing of land, V.I. Lenin emphasized: "...the party congress recommends that all personnel in this sphere not constrain either of these two phenomena by superfluous formalities...." (Vol 45, p 133) This sentence

accurately reflects V.I. Lenin's view on leasing—he did not reject it out of hand and deemed it expedient to utilize everything that would boost output: The country needed grain.

But Lenin's inflexibility is perfectly evident when it was a question of attempts to "distribute" state property and transform it into group property. He described "any, direct or indirect, legitimization of the ownership of specific production units by workers in a specific factory or a specific profession" as "the greatest distortion of the fundamental principles of Soviet power and a total abandonment of socialism." (Vol 36, p 481)

Of course, today it would be incorrect to proceed only from the letter of Lenin's tenets—everything he said is based on an analysis of the situation in our country in the early twenties. The state of affairs has undergone a radical change since then. But V.I. Lenin's fundamental theoretical views remain valid. This also applies to the question of the impermissibility of absolutizing the cooperative form of ownership.

Lenin's tenets cannot be interpreted as being too centralist, either. His entire legacy on questions of organizing economic accountability indicates that he presupposed an expansion of enterprise collectives' functions in appropriation along with centrally effected appropriation.

V.I. Lenin did not directly deduce bureaucratism from state ownership, either. This approach was typical of the anarchists against whose views he struggled. For example, the Russian anarchist M. Bakunin denied social ownership, the unifying and organizing force of power. Bakunin was against the state's economic role and perceived the state as the mainstay of bureaucratism. This stance was directly opposed by Lenin's concept of democratic centralism and by V.I. Lenin's tenets on the economic autonomy of enterprises within the framework of state and cooperative forms of ownership. Genuine democratic centralism can be a serious factor in curbing the excessive statization of appropriation relations and their monopolization by state institutions. Any monopolization was to be countered by the working people's state guarding the realization of their interests and the interests of society as a whole.

The tenet on the need for centralized regulation of the economy on the basis of ownership by the whole people in its state form remains immutable to this day. It is impossible to perceive any elements of dogmatism in the commitment to it. Even in capitalist countries, the development of socialization processes leads to the establishment of state ownership. The very fact of its existence raises the question of counting the bourgeoisie in the ranks of "superfluous population." In all modern capitalist countries, state ownership is held to be the supreme achievement of the capitalist socialization of production. The practice of state monopoly capitalism convincingly proves the effectiveness of state regulation of the economy on the basis of the development of state ownership.

Yet it is suggested that we should go not forward but backwards, ignoring progressive experience and the achievements of human civilization. Writing in issue No 36 (1988) of the weekly VETERAN, Professor A. Burganov expressed the opinion that "the absence of state ownership of the basic means of production would have prevented the emergence of the mighty and millions-strong bureaucracy class we have today."

So here we have a model of socialism without state ownership. It is proposed that we do away with state property by distributing it among cooperatives. We then have to answer the question: How is the state to perform its economic functions in planning the fundamental parameters of the socialist economy's development and its defense and foreign economic functions? It is impossible to perform these functions without state ownership and without state appropriation on the basis of redistribution of resources.

State ownership is actually the determining factor in the centralized planning of the structurally determinant proportions of reproduction and, on this basis, in the balanced transformation of all aspects of society's life in line with the elaborated strategy of socioeconomic development. State ownership offers a real opportunity to concentrate energies and resources on the crucial sectors and makes it possible to make major investments and to maneuver resources.

Of course, for as long as the state exists, state organs cannot but act in the name of the whole people. To ensure that major questions of economic life are not decided directly by the apparatus of these organs, it is important to reform state institutions and really enhance people's power. This is the aim of the reform of the political system.

Full "destatization" of ownership would deprive us of the opportunity for centralized and systematic regulation of the most important processes in the national economy's economic development. The advantages of socialism would be lost.

There are, of course, different levels of state involvement in regulating the possession, utilization, and disposal of objects which are part of the property of the whole people—from the all-union and republican levels to local soviet level. The economic functions of local authority organs are being expanded in the course of the economic reform. But even so, bearing in mind the existing nature of the national economic complex, it would be a step backwards if property were to be broken down and given a legal form whereby the unity of the complex would be essentially lost.

Unfortunately, attempts are being made to substantiate the breaking up of assets belonging to the whole people. It is perfectly natural to ask: Would such a step be in line with the attained level of socialization, which is based on pooling resources for the sake of augmenting the common assets, or not? Of course it would not be in line. It is impossible to transfer to individual regions the ownership of that which was created by all the peoples in the country and which is their common asset. It is impossible to advance in the development of the processes of socialization without taking into account the historical reality and logic of these processes. To raise the question of transferring the Soviet people's common assets to regional ownership is to commit a serious theoretical and political error. This would undermine the socialist society's single economic foundation and would rule out any opportunity to pursue a unified socioeconomic policy, to rationally deploy productive forces, and to create unified transport and power supply systems.

State ownership acquires the nature of genuine ownership by the whole people as a result of the "redistribution" of the state's functions among the links of state power and by the intensification of the economic functions of the enterprises where labor processes actually occur. Ineffective and deformed exercise of the functions of state management by the state is not an excuse to reject state ownership but an incentive to explain the reasons why this is happening. It is altogether impossible to accept the idea that the state "is ossified in its failure to express the interests of the people [nenarodnost]."

The excessive statization of economic functions is rooted in the inordinate restrictions on enterprises' autonomy, the weakening of economic accountability, the restrictions on regions' rights, the desire to plan anything and everything from above, and the lack of monitoring of redistribution processes from below. All this was linked with a simplistic impression of the mechanism for ensuring balanced development of socioeconomic processes. After all, balanced development is not just a way of advancing the social process of production as part of the activity of central state organs. It is also a function of regional management organs and producers' associations. It is exercised not only in a centralized fashion, through the system of state institutions, but also through the totality of local soviets' and enterprise collectives' economic functions.

The qualitative definition of property belonging to the whole people depends on the substantiated distribution of economic management functions between the center, the local authorities, and the collectives, on their consistent exercise downwards and upwards. If there is an intensification of bureaucratic principles which nullify the democratic essence of management and the economic realization of every working person's ownership rights as mediated via labor in production and management, then the nationwide element in state ownership is watered down and society suffers considerable damage.

Ownership by the whole people demands centralized management on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. Without such management and monitoring, without priority being given to the interests of the whole people, it is impossible to achieve equal treatment of the means of production and conscientious maintenance of the necessary proportions.

Without centralism, there can be neither ownership by the whole people, nor its specific form—state ownership. This is a basic truth of Marxism but it is by no means dogma. In line with it, what is needed is not the "squeezing out" of state ownership by cooperative ownership but the creation of conditions for the economic realization of state ownership as ownership by the whole people and its development in parallel with cooperative ownership insofar as economic preconditions for this exist. Such conditions must be consideration of the complex structure of economic interests, economically accountable collective appropriation mediated via labor, and the transfer of management to collectives in the form of collective contracts or lease contracts, but subject to the state reserving the right to ownership and economic regulation (placement of state orders, structural scientific and technical policy, and so on).

Cooperatives Union Chief Discusses Future Plans

PM0902114388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Sorokin, president of new USSR Union of Cooperatives, by Ye. Sorokin, under the rubric "We Report Details": "Cooperative Members Unite"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] As reported earlier, the constituent congress of the USSR Union of Cooperatives (production and service sphere) has taken place in Moscow. V. Sorokin has been elected president of the union. We publish an interview with him by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Sorokin.

[Ye. Sorokin] How did the congress go? Rumors are circulating of a polarization of forces in the cooperative movement, about a "left" and a "right," about unhealthy competition, almost a struggle for power....

[V. Sorokin] There is a grain of truth in this. The cooperative movement is going through a difficult time. Since the well-known resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers of 29 December 1988, which banned a number of cooperatives and made certain others depedent on state enterprises, many cooperatives have been in a state of confusion.

The congress was marked by heated debates. The fact that we have managed to form a union and approve our statutes, is already a success. The union brings together some 21,000 cooperatives with a workforce of 411,000 people.

Our union is a social organization which operates within the framework of the USSR Constitution and the Law on the Cooperative Movement. It unites cooperatives on a strictly voluntary basis. The members of the union retain their economic and legal independence.

As stated in our statutes, the union ensures the protection of cooperatives' rights, the provision of legal aid, and the adoption, in accordance with the set procedure, of measures of appeal against legally enforceable acts which are at variance with the Law on the Cooperative Movement or infringe the cooperatives' rights. Our union's elected council is the executive organ of an all-union organization and, in accordance with the Constitution, it is now invested with the right of legislative initiative. In addition, we will assist cooperatives by providing them with information and helping to set up cooperative banks, credit and financial centers, and so forth. I should probably also say a few words about the development of democracy and publicity within our movement. The union is planning to prepare a number of handbooks on various aspects of cooperative activity, to propagandize the movement, and to work toward enhancing cadre qualifications.

[Ye. Sorokin] Familiarization with your union's policy documents reveals that they have been compiled on a solid basis, without zigzags "to the right" or "to the left."

[V. Sorokin] Our task is to harmonize "cooperative-consumer" and "cooperative-state" relations. In cooperation with the party and the state we are tackling the problem of satisfying the working people's requirements more fully. Socialism, according to V.I. Lenin, is a society of civilized cooperative members. It is our task to educate such workers, rather than grabbers and thieves of which there are still more than enough; it is our task to educate honest, concientious workers who have found a place in the cooperative movement in which to apply their resources, knowledge, and talent. If they are earning well, then, as a rule, it is honest money.

[Ye. Sorokin] But will your union not also turn into a bureaucratic organization with its own "nomenklatura?"

[V. Sorokin] I don't think so, because there is no need for a large staff. Our planned "electronic mail" system does away with the need for a cumbersome apparatus. We are hoping that the day will come soon when both cooperatives and state establishments will be able to plug their computers into our all-union network, to freely transmit or receive any information, or to conclude a contract with a Soviet or a foreign partner. Of course, provision has been made for the rotation of leading cadres, glasnost, and democratic principles of manangement. Incidentally, the entire leadership of the union is working as volunteers without a ruble's pay. In other words, there simply is no basis for bureaucracy.

[Ye. Sorokin] How do you intend to combat racketeering?

[V. Sorokin] That is a matter for the state. Our task is, by making more work places available in the cooperatives, to provide opportunities for young people who have been drawn into racketeering by accident to earn money honestly. I am not an idealist and am perfectly aware how difficult this is. But the game is worth the candle here, as they say.

[Ye. Sorokin] You are defending cooperative workers; you are prepared "to humanize" racketeers. But who will defend us, the consumers, against excessively high cooperative prices and substandard goods?

[V. Sorokin] The prices are dictated by the market conditions. The greater the demand, the higher the prices. Incidentally, now the prices for the same articles of clothing are by no means the same as a year ago. Competition is beginning to tell. Our union will give all-around backing to this healthy competition which is aimed at lowering prices and enhancing the quality of goods. There is a plan to hold a competition for the best cooperative in each sphere of activity. The winners will receive money prizes and, above all, publicity. We would be pleased to receive suggestions from cooperative workers and consumers on the conditions of this kind of competitions. They can be sent to the following address: 121019 Moscow, Arbatskiy Pereulok, No 6/2, apartment 31. Or they can be telephoned to 219-99-19.

As for the quality of goods, there are different kinds of substandard goods. If poor quality is the result of insufficient experience, we will try to teach and to help. (Incidentally, the first step toward enhancing the skills of cooperative workers is already being planned. At the beginning of March the union will hold a seminar for representatives of construction cooperatives.) However, if a cooperative is deliberately producing substandard goods, we will proceed ruthlessly. After all, unscrupulous people undermine the prestige of the movement as a whole.

To such people we will apply the negative publicity of the consumers' club which we intend to set up at our union. At the same time, we do not want to supplant state organs which are supposed to monitor cooperatives.

[Ye. Sorokin] What are the union's most immediate aims?

[V. Sorokin] The first is to organize professional legal aid. To begin with at least at the level of consultations. The second is to set up a proper cooperative system data bank. And subsequently, as I already mentioned, the "electronic mail." This is to ensure that cooperative workers do not have to grope about like blind kittens for something that may be just around the corner. And third, to thoroughly prepare the second congress of the union, which is scheduled for March.

Republican Goskomstats Note Economic Gains

LD1302162789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] In accordance with the tenets of the 27th party congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, implementation of economic reform and the consistent deepening of the process of restructuring continued last year. This can be seen in the reports from the union republic goskomstats. (?With) the transition to predominantly economic methods of management and the mass transfer of enterprises, associations, and organizations to the principles of full financial autonomy and self-financing, there are definite positive moves within the national economy. For example, the national income of the Ukrainian SSR amounted to almost R105 billion in real terms. The entire increase was obtained through growth in labor productivity with a reduction in the number of workers. A social reorientation of the economy has been effected. The plan for the retail trade turnover has been fulfilled. At the same time, the economic reform is not yet in full swing and a significant number of the Ukraine's industrial enterprises did not meet their contract pledges for delivery of output.

In the Belorussian SSR, the output of industrial products increased by more than 6 percent last year compared with 1987. Labor productivity rose by 6.3 percent. Production of around 400 new items has been adopted. The republic's population has received 95,000 new apartments as a result of which the living conditions of 466,000 people have improved. However, some of the most important indicators planned for 1988, including that for national income and production of agricultural output, were not achieved. The work of individual producers was halted because of violations of nature protection legislation.

The national economy of the Uzbek SSR did not manage to achieve the planned growth in production nor in the national income generated. While more industrial output was produced than in 1987, 17 percent of enterprises did not meet their contract pledges for deliveries. Last year, 613 production associations, enterprises, organizations, and kolkhozes were working in new economic management conditions. The number of cooperatives increased. They sold produce and provided services to the sum of R230 million.

Expert Explains Leningrad Production Increase

LD1402210189 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Leningrad February 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Davydov:

Leningrad factories were able to increase output by more than three percent last year even though they had 35,000 fewer workers, and a leading Soviet economist credits the achievement to economic reform which has got underway throughout the Soviet Union.

Yuriy Lavrikov explained in a TASS interview that more than half of the city's factories in 1988 went self-financing and this had a favorable impact on industrial growth.

But negative trends were in evidence as well, like increasing differences in wage levels between different sections of the workforce, pay rising faster than labor productivity, growing prices and the disappearance of cheap goods, he added.

The scientist also pointed to the striving of some factories to reduce deductions to the government and local budgets as well as spending on nature conservation.

Lavrikov and his Leningrad colleagues are convinced, however, that these adverse trends can be arrested by using government economic leverage, including a recent decree regulating prices.

They also have formally proposed that the government adopt laws against "monopolist" enterprises which often set unjustifiably high prices on products manufactured in this country exclusively by them.

Ordinary Leningraders have mixed feelings about innovative schemes in industry. More people have grown discontented with the exceedingly slow pace of economic reform, while its prime objective of improving popular living standards still enjoys widespread support.

*Light Industry Enterprises' Transfer to Defense

18230031 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 7 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Ye. Chernova: "'Defense' Changes the Profession"]

[Text] Moscow—More than a year ago an entire branch was disbanded—the one that was the most backward, impoverished, and attacked by the consumers and the newspapers: the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances. Its enterprises were placed in the powerful hands of the defense ministries. Well, what has been the result? Was this heretofore unprecedented symbiosis successful?

Khozraschet and Disarmament

Before answering this question we must make a little digression.

As we know, in capitalist countries, particularly such a large producer of military equipment as the United States, there simply is no division of the economy into military and civilian sectors—it is all one organism. But nonetheless "they" too have a need to utilize the result of work on military orders for peaceful purposes.

The logic here is simple. Discoveries and inventions made during the fulfillment of military orders, once they are transferred over to civilian production, cause a revolution there. Thus American goods become more competitive on the world market. And hence the wealth and influence of the American state in the world increase. Thus, if only partially, they recoup the immense sums invested annually in military research and design work.

Hence also an entire complex of measures undertaken by the state for the development of spin-off (i.e. transfer of technologies): improvement of the national information service and a flexible patent policy, special points in contracts... The results? Here are just a couple of achievements: the method for increasing the durability of welded seams, ultrasonic welding, equipment for precision processing of materials, ways of storing cryogenic materials—all these have been transferred from military to civilian industry. Like machine tools with numerical program control, integrated circuits, and semiconductors. According to NASA data, space programs alone, through spin-off, have made a contribution to the American economy in an amount of 35 billion dollars. It was announced in the American press that the overall cost of new technologies, machines, and instruments that were applied in civilian branches in the mid-seventies mounted to 27-30 billion dollars.

And what about us? We have subscribed to the viewpoint of the previous head designer of one of the defense plants, Yu. Valkov ("The Last Trump," SI, 13 November 1988), who called conversion our economy's last trump. Not everyone will agree with this, but be that as it may, the contribution of our defense industry, different as it is from the American, to the civilian branches could be immense. And it also needs this.

...The first demonstration of spin-off took place in the Ministry of General Machine Building's Central Scientific Research Institute of Machine Building Technology. The impression one received was that the technologies had come from two different worlds.

For instance, a new vat for dough was demonstrated. There was no need to show the old one—it can be seen at any bakery. It is heavy with poorly cleaned welded seams (and the bakers know that pieces of dough stick to these seams, rot, and spoil all of the future bread) and, what is worst of all, they are aluminum. The new vat is perfectly smooth because it was made with different technology—rotation rolling from a flat steel blank piece. This technology makes it possible to reduce the labor-intensiveness of the manufacture of the vat by a factor of 4-6 and the material-intensiveness by no less than one-third. The former Ministry of Machine Building for Light and the Food Industry could not even dream of such a thing.

One can give many examples of revolutionary application of technologies. The Central Scientific Research Institute of Machine Building Technology, which participated actively in the creation of Energiya, for instance, has a high level of technology of welding, the best in the country. What are lacking here are high-frequency, diffusion, and impulse welding with a high degree of automation. What a contrast to enterprises of the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and the Food Industry! And cast pieces—thin walled made of nonferrous metals, pieces case in smelted moulds with directed crystallization....

Two industrial worlds separated by force developed according to different laws. The wealth of one grew largely as a result of the poverty of the other. And now we have empty shelves in the stores and the card system for the main kinds of food products essentially make all the unthinkable achievements of these "closed" and "secret" branches unnecessary to the people.

"Previously we were not inordinately surprised if someone thought about loading us with this kind of work. It made us think that we were some kind of butchers for the meat combine! But now these backward plants are a gift for us," says the institute's director, Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Isachanko. "I think that all the progress and success of our enterprises are determined by a constantly high level of loading and the change of tasks. If these loads were reduced the collectives would begin to deteriorate. But now the situation is different. One can experience the disarmament. The production volumes will obviously decrease. Understanding this, the majority of plants of the Ministry of General Machine Building have begun to produce machine building products for light and the food industry.

"Add to this khozraschet as well. For example, in order to do as well as it did last year, the institute had to increase its work volume by 20-30 percent. I wonder where I can find it."

Exporting a Principle

I have long been unable to handle the words "we shall," "we take," "we shall achieve" without a good deal of skepticism. Even now I do not believe them. We have placed so much hope in all kinds of "breakthroughs" when, mechanically trying to graft the good onto the bad, one might say that it all fizzled out!

"It is this mechanical nature that we have tried to avoid," says Isachenko. "When our ministry received the plants of the Ministry of Light and the Food Industry a decision was made to distribute them among all the administrations of our ministry. In the first place, in order not to saddle ourselves with a new and still weak main administration, and, in the second place, this would make it easier to merge them into our collectives.

"One must begin, of course, with technical retooling. The ministry has decided to increase the financing of such work this year by a factor of 2.5 to the detriment of existing subjects."

Even at the beginning of last year the Central Scientific Research Institute of Machine Building Technology created brigades of technologists and organizers who conducted detailed investigations of the new plants. On the basis of the analysis they generalized and singled out the standard assignments and arranged the priorities.

The weakest link in the plants for machine building for light and the food industry turned out to be procurement production. Because of the technological backwardness mechanical processing comprises an unjustifiably large proportion here. Precision casting, for instance, comprises only 18 percent (for comparison, with defense workers it is 85 percent), for stamping—16 percent (55 percent for defense workers), and the volume of manual labor in casting is 60 percent while at plants of the Ministry of General Machine Building it is 15 percent.

This is not a gap but an abyss. It will take many years to build a bridge over it. But the defense workers want neither to stretch things too far nor to blame their neighbors, so without waiting for the end of reconstruction, they used some of their own capacities so that they could deliver high-quality blank pieces to the plants right away.

The second priority area is the development of instrument production. In the system of the former Ministry of Machine Building for Light and the Food Industry the worker's supply of instruments and fittings was worse by a factor of 2.5 than it is in the Ministry of General Machine Building. This is another source of shortcomings in the preparation for production. The third priority area is modern welding technology.

But I was actually most interested in how they actually intend to transfer the technology, by what means. After all, one can literally cram any shop with processing centers with BOSh's or FANUK's and there would be more point to it than letting ordinary Voronezh or Lipetsk machine tools stand there.

"It is necessary to carry over the principles for the organization of work," V. Isachenko thinks. "In our branch we have developed quite particular approaches to the introduction of technologies, which accelerate this process many times over. We have an efficient, clearly thought out system of design and technological processing of new machines, including in the early stages, before the working documentation is issued. We have been convinced that any changes made in later stages are detrimental.

And in order for people to learn to work in the new way and more rapidly, defense workers have sent their initial teams to machine building plants for light and the food industry and included their design bureaus in their work.

At What Price?

Opponents of the "last trump" usually say: "Defense workers always achieve the necessary result because the state does not limit the cost. And diamond machines are not needed at the vegetable base."

"Of course," Isachenko agrees, "I sometimes express such misgivings—there is no need to copy everything; that can indeed be too expensive. But there is a whole range of machine building technologies which significantly reduce production costs! They break down the established structure of parts that are used."

But if they try to save on metal here, they are not stingy when it comes to investing money in people. Wage issues have been regulated, which immediately made it possible for the managers of enterprises if not to hire away, at least to retain skilled specialists.

And even the most painful issue, housing, is not sidestepped. Naturally, it is no secret that the defense ministries, gathering the best personnel under their roofs, could offer them certain social benefits that were unavailable to, let us say, simple mortals. And what could any Belopolskiy Machine Building Plant offer a specialist when it could not even build its own boiler? As we were told by the chief of the main construction administration of the Ministry of General Machine Building, B. Pavlov, they will not rely on the internal financing method for housing construction; the ministry is prepared to use its own long-standing ties with he contractor. In 2 or 3 years at machine building plants for light and the food industry it is intended to solve the problem of kindergartens, and by the year 2000—housing.

Regardless of how many representatives of former plants of the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and the Food Industry we have had occasion to speak with recently, so far everyone is satisfied.

"According to our calculations," says Isachenko, "in 2-3 years we could saturate the Gosagroprom with equipment that is being produced today. But is this necessary? In my opinion it is not. It is more important during this time to raise the technical level of the machines, on the one hand, and of the plants themselves, on the other."

It seems that there really is justification for this kind of confidence. The course toward conversion has been taken in earnest.

Scientific

Nuclear Scientists, Experts Form Society

PM1402104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Morning Edition p3

[A. Illesh report under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "Why a 'USSR Nuclear Society' Is Being Formed"]

[Text] On 8 February major scientists and specialists in nuclear energy, radiation medicine, and, if it may be so described, related fields of knowledge met at the I.V.

Kurchatov Institute. They held an avid discussion on whether we need our own "nuclear society"—a nongovernmental scientific and technical assembly of specialists. The answer from 25 authorities on the subject is clear—Yes, we do.

This question was even followed by unexpected rejoinders: "We should have formed a nuclear society yesterday," "No, we should have formed one 20 years ago." So why do physicists—who have a considerable number of various societies, are far from bottom of the list in the USSR Academy of Sciences, and have a weighty, authoritative voice in the most diverse international organizations—now feel the need for a new "office"?

Academician Ye.P. Velikhov: "Nuclear societies exist throughout the civilized world. The American society, for example, is so strong and authoritative that it aspires to world status. Our own society could concern itself with the exchange of information—the Academy of Sciences essentially does nothing in this respect—the building of international ties, and the solution of internal problems. We are all aware of the present difficulties in contacts between scientists and representatives of the broad public. The honest, informed, competent nature of this 'nuclear society' would help people to learn more about nuclear energy and would make glasnost the norm in these issues. Unfortunately, the prestige of 'nuclear affairs' is on the wane—this is evident from the highest academic establishments. And, finally, the society's publication of journals and holding of symposiums will make it possible to develop our science in greater breadth and depth."

What would have happened in the past, 5 years ago, say? Everyone would have heard out the vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and then raised their hands in unison—unanimously approved. But this is 1989 and economic accountability is walking abroad....

Academician B.B. Kadomtsev: "But who will finance this 'nuclear society' and where will it be located? Excuse me, but the suggested contribution of R10 apiece does not seem enough to me."

A.Yu. Gagarinskiy, doctor of physics and mathematical sciences: "Of course it is not enough. But what about the role played by sponsorship, advertising, exhibitions, and publishing activity? The Americans publish five of their own journals.... And the society need not have a very large apparatus."

Having dispensed with the question of the society statute, financing, membership, and other important formal issues, they immediately began to discuss very serious problems which still have the conventional ministerial taboo.

V.V. Orlov, doctor of physics and mathematical sciences: "The society will immediately be rendered useless, even before it is properly organized, if we try to copy the style and spirit of those assemblies of which we are permanent members. We need new forms and new ideas.... I think we need to put a brake on the constant slide toward monopolism. Organizing just such a brake could be one of the tasks of the 'nuclear society.'"

L.A. Ilin, academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences: "A paradoxical question: Could 'green' groups not become members of our society? Or are we going to only accept professionals? The 'greens' are excellent opponents!... But seriously, it would be within the society's power to research and publish information (of all kinds and in all technologies) on the effects of radioactivity on humans."

Academician A.P. Aleksandrov: "Are you not afraid of including such complex issues, to put it mildly, in the program? Will we not be forced to create our own 'first department'...?"

V.V. Orlov: "Young people now talk about the country's military budget on the 'Viewpoint' program.... Often it is not the real issues but the interests of specific groups or ministries and departments that are cloaked in secrecy (and we are well aware of this!). There is definitely a real point in discussing military matters as well. If the 'nuclear society' is competent, we will be able to produce independent expert reports."

Ye.P. Velikhov: "We can come to an agreement with the Defense Ministry, obtain the necessary documents, and prepare (observing the procedure) our own reports on any program to which we have access."

Ye.N. Avrorin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Peaceful nuclear explosions offer colossal scientific material, but the public's attitude to them may be similiar to its attitude to AES's after Chernobyl. There is plenty to think about here. We can discuss projects for the burial of nuclear waste—also a painful subject." ...A list of the people sitting at the table lay in front of me. Among the names of leading lights in Soviet physics famous throughout the world are some totally unfamiliar names followed by hieroglyphs, alarming to any journalist by virtue of their confidential nature—P/YA, NPO, OKB, written beneath some mysterious numbers. But "deadly hush-hush" scientists also work there, who seem to want to talk aloud about their own—not very specific, as it turns out—problems. Still many pillars of science are frankly hindered (as you and I are) by the sadly infamous departmental barriers.

...A vote was taken. It was unanimous. But it was a unanimity of people who had discussed a problem and were sure of the prospects of their own undertaking. It has been decided: The society intends to act as a partner and, when necessary, an opponent of state and economic bodies in questions concerning the practical utilization of nuclear science and technology and to seek new approaches to the highly complex issues raised by the scientific and technical revolution. It will participate in

the creation and establishment of ecoiogically clean technologies for all links in the nuclear fuel cycle. It will galvanize research into the ecological, economic, social, and political aspects of the development of nuclear power and strengthen international cooperation among scientists.... It will also give the people a truthful, responsible account of its activities—which seems particularly important to me, after the catastrophe in April 1986.

Because, in actual fact, these matters are clearly our common concern.

Science Meeting Examines 'Phobos' Data

LD1402135889 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov: Data about the surface and atmosphere of Mars and near-Martian plasma obtained by the space probe Phobos-2 are being discussed at an international scientific conference which opened on Monday at the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Space Research Institute.

Scientists from over a dozen countries, who are taking part in the discussion on the Phobos project, will submit their proposals for the scientific equipment and basic elements of the next automatic expedition which will explore Mars from a satellite, balloon and miniature landing craft. Its launch is scheduled for 1994.

Two Phobos orbiters were launched from the Baykonur spaceport on July 7 and 12. Contact with the first of them was lost in September. The onboard systems of Phobos-2, which reached Martian orbit on January 29, operate normally. The sole hitch has been a drop in a radio transmitter current and, hence, a reduction in its capacity. This will not, however affect the implementation of the programme. The scientific equipment of both vehicles was virtually identical.

Academician Roald Sagdeyev, scientific director of the project, singled out two of an array of experiments conducted when the probes were flying from Earth to Mars. The first was to photograph solar corona in Roentgen range and the second—to explore solar radiation oscillations. Thanks to them, scientists received new data about the structure and dynamics of the sun's internal composition.

Research into the planet's surface and atmosphere has already been conducted in the near-Martian orbit with the aid of an infra-red spectrometer. Its results will enable specialists to draft height maps of separate areas of Mars and analyse the mineral composition of the rock. Scientists hope to spot carbonate deposits, which can indicate the previous existence of water. The measurements of the surface temperature showed that it is 20 degrees higher than was previously thought and even more in volcanic areas.

There are plans to film the planet shortly and also to observe the sun's spectrum through the Martian atmosphere. This will enable scientists to analyse its chemical composition. The Phobos mission will enter its decisive phase in April when following several manoeuvers; the space vehicle will approach the Martian moon at a distance of 50 meters and explore its soil by conventional television cameras for 25 minutes, and then by laser, ion and radar probing.

'Cosmos 2002' Satellite Launched 14 Feb

LD1502084489 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—The Soviet Union has launched another satellite, Cosmos 2002, on Tuesday [14 February].

The satellite was launched by a Cosmos rocket booster and is equipped to carry out space research.

The parametres of the satellites orbit are as follows: initial revolution period—110.4 minutes, maximum distance from the earth's surface (in the apogee)—2,315 kilometres, minimum distance from the earth (in the perigee)—187 kilometres, orbit inclination—65.8 degrees.

The satellite has a radio system to measure the orbit's characteristics precisely and a radiotelemetry system to transmit data back to earth about the functioning of the scientific equipment.

The satellite's equipment is functioning normally.

Comparison of 'Cosmos-2001' Launch Report

WA1502163589

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 15 February 1989 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "'Cosmos-2001' in Orbit" a TASS report on the 14 February launch of the "Cosmos-2001" artificial earth satellite. Comparison with the Moscow TASS Russian report published in the 14 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 85, column two, under the headline "'Cosmos-2001' Research Satellite Launched," shows the data in the two reports to be identical.

Comparison of the Moscow TASS Russian report with a 75-word Moscow TASS in English report at 0728 GMT on 15 February also reveals identical data except for the following: only paragragh, line six in the TASS English version reads: ...apogee—39,342 km; perigee—613 km; orbital inclination 62.8 degrees.... (supplying variant perigee figure)

Military

Moiseyev Responds to Questions Before Election

PM1402162589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Colonel V. Izgarshev report under the rubric "We Prepare for Elections": "General's Mandate"]

[Text] At the end of the meeting with voters the candidate deputy answered questions. There were many of them, but—such is the custom now!—they were all blunt and even angry.

"Will an end be put to favoritism in the Army? What is your personal attitude to favoritism?" He read the note, put it aside, looked at his audience, and said with conviction:

"Favoritism is a tremendous evil. I personally will combat it to the end! But when it will be overcome depends on all of us." And he repeated his retort: "I simply despise favoritism in any form, and I will always combat it."

This was what Colonel General Mikhail Alekseyevich Moiseyev, candidate deputy from the CPSU, said at the meeting. It was held at the Armed Forces General Staff, where the candidate deputy is now serving. He has been entrusted with a high post by the party and the people. He is chief of the General Staff and a USSR first deputy defense minister.

...He was born 2 years before the war, into a working family in a simple Russian settlement near the Amur. Mariya Yakovlevna and Aleksey Semenovich Moiseyev raised four children. Prior to his Army service Moiseyev worked as a boiler mechanic in the Pacific Fleet's Auxiliary Vessels Department.

Then he became a soldier in his own Red Banner Far Eastern Military District (many years later he would return with the high rank of general and become its commander). In 1959 he entered a tank school, from which he graduated with honors. Running ahead, I will point out that he would later graduate with honors from the M.V. Frunze Military Academy and with a gold medal from the General Staff Academy.

He passed through all levels of the officer service without missing a single one. I remember Mikhail Alekseyevich when he was commanding a regiment in the Belorussian Military District, and next as deputy commander of a division. I recently overheard a telephone conversation between him and his former division commander. The latter had also attained the rank of colonel general. During the events in Azerbaijan he was appointed military commandant of the republic capital. The chief of the General Staff spoke warmly and with friendly concern with General M. Tyagunov, issuing the necessary instructions for service without the slightest hint of didacticism.

Cordiality, respect for people, sincere concern for them, comradely tact in relations with colleagues—these are noted by everyone who has come into contact even just once with Mikhail Alekseyevich.

...Many warm words about the candidate were spoken at the meeting. In their own name and on behalf of their service comrades Major General B. Panteleyev (his agent), Lieutenant General of Aviation M. Kuznetsov, Major General Yu. Remarchuk, Colonel Yu. Skvortsov, Lieutenant Colonel V. Meleshin, Captain V. Kochetkov, and Soviet Army employee V. Filomonov gave the candidate deputy many businesslike mandates and suggestions. There was also talk of improving the style of staff work under conditions of implementing restructuring in the Army and the Navy and the upcoming unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces, of regularizing the working day of officers, of social justice in remunerating military labor, of providing housing for servicemen, for those who have been transferred to the reserve and those who have retired....

The candidate deputy set forth his own personal program stemming from the CPSU Central Committee appeal "To the Party and the Soviet People" and shared with those present his own plans, intentions, and creative wishes for resolving the lofty and responsible tasks entrusted to the General Staff and the Armed Forces as a whole at the modern stage of restructuring.

"Until now," M. Moiseyev said, "we have acted according to the principle: 'You can economize on everything, but not on defense.' Today we are abandoning that principle. We must know how to economize also on defense, and we will economize. For we are talking of public money....

"In connection with the upcoming reduction in the Army, voices are calling for it henceforth to be built according to the territorial militia principle. Some people propose abandoning compulsory military service and creating a hired army. Some people advise distributing the Army among national barracks.

"We can agree neither with the first, nor with the second, nor, still less, with the third. In our multinational state we have built and will build the Army exclusively on an international basis. As far as a territorial militia system is concerned, given the troops' present technical equipment it would, of course, not ensure the necessary combat readiness and combat ability. A hired army would require an increase in the budget to maintain it. So this path is not for us either. The chief point is that the profession of defending the motherland is the business of every Soviet citizen-patriot."

The chief of the General Staff particularly emphasized that the present and the future of the Armed Forces must be conditioned by qualitative parameters, not quantitative ones. These alone will help us at the time of the restructuring and reorganization of the Army and the Navy connected with the reduction of the Armed Forces to ensure the reliable defense of our motherland and its allies.

And again, in conclusion, about questions to the candidate deputy:

"Will General Staff officers be provided with housing?"

"Of course. We cannot allow officers' families to roam about the private sector, giving up one-third of their pay for housing. In Moscow there are more than 7,000 officers' families without an apartment, and 1,500 need better housing. In the General Staff and its subunits alone more than 1,000 officers are waiting to be housed. An acute question. We will resolve it by creating special subunits for housing construction. The defense minister has already issued the appropriate order."

"Will there be material incentives for an officer's labor? It is no secret that all serve, but serve differently."

"A corresponding document will very soon be adopted and will put everything in its place. Model service, as well as a negligent attitude to work, will be reflected accordingly in the payroll."

"About drafting students for service."

"A decision is being prepared in this regard and will undoubtedly take account of all the suggestions which working people have sent to the Ministry of Defense and other organs. It is a question of deferring the draft for students for the duration of their studies. Those who study in VUZes without military departments will on graduation undergo appropriate military training for 1 year. Graduates from VUZes with military departments—reserve officers—may only be recruited to short training courses [sbory]"

The meeting unanimously adopted a decision to inform the CPSU Central Committee and the Electoral Commission for Elections of People's Deputies from the CPSU that the Communists and the entire personnel of the General Staff express full confidence in Comrade Moiseyev, candidate people's deputy from the CPSU, and ask for their opinion to be taken into account when voting in the election.

Gen Yazov Discusses Troop Cuts, Cadres Issues

PM1302131589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel S. Levitskiy report: "On Cadre Work in the Period of Forthcoming Reductions in the USSR Armed Services"]

[Text] **A conference of officials from Army and Navy cadre organs ended in the USSR Ministry of Defense Main Personnel Directorate. It was addressed by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel; Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other generals, admirals, and officers. Bearing in mind readers' avid interest in the problems raised at the conference, we publish a more detailed report on its work.**

The conference discussed the methods to be used when discharging servicemen into the reserve to prevent any decline of the combat readiness of troops and naval forces, to improve the qualitative parameters of officer cadres, and to ensure their social protection when implementing the benefits granted by the state. Conference participants unanimously concluded that it is necessary to take advantage of all opportunities to qualitatively consolidate the Army and Navy officer corps and, on this basis, to boost the troops' defense potential.

For this purpose, the reduction will basically affect officers, ensigns, and petty officers who have reached the age limit applicable to active military service and are entitled to pension benefits from the USSR Ministry of Defense.

The reduction of the officer corps creates an objective need to reduce the numbers of those enrolled [peremennyy sostav] at military schools, and the purpose of this should also be to boost the quality of students' training. All graduates in 1989 will be posted according to their specialized training.

All command, political, and cadre links must also show special concern to ensure that the standard of the combat readiness of troops and naval forces does not decline when officer cadres are discharged, and to improve the quality of combat training and of ideological and political work with the personnel.

The conference also examined the question of where to station flying cadres following the reduction of Air Force combat strength. Measures will be taken to prevent the discharge of young pilots who have dedicated their lives to their beloved vocation.

It is also necessary to show concern for the retention of scientific cadres, military VUZ lecturers, medical service officers, and military jurists.

The conference brought to light serious mistakes committed in the process of the current certification of officer cadres, and the insufficient attention given to the training of suitable replacements for higher ranking officers in the command, engineering, and other specialized fields. Practical conclusions must be drawn from these lessons as soon as possible, it was said at the conference.

Conference participants made suggestions for providing guarantees for officers' social protection. In this context, extensive use will be made of the experience accumulated by the rocket forces during the reduction of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, when utmost concern was shown for the officers' future, the provision of housing for them, and the satisfaction of other daily needs.

There is no question that the sizable reduction of the officer corps will bring about different forms of cadre work, like retraining to go from one specialized field to another. There is no time to be lost in launching this work.

The conference elaborated the basic guidelines of the concept for officer cadre reductions. Consideration was given in this process to the opinions of reserve officers and the advice and suggestions of servicemen, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers. It is intended to continue to rigorously adhere to the principles of glasnost and democracy when implementing cadre policy and to make broader use of permanent certification commissions, individual interviews with subordinates, the certification process, and consideration for officers' personal opinions.

The conference drew urgent attention to the work with young officers, to the need to be tactful with them and to show concern for their development. The prestige of military service must continue to be boosted. In this context, commanders and political and cadre organs must step up individual educational work.

Many readers write to the editorial office asking what would happen to those who have reached the age limit but lack the requisite length of service for full pension entitlement. Attention was also given to this problem. It was recommended that this problem be solved on an individual basis, taking into account all the circumstances of people's service.

Persons whose term of service has been extended are primarily apt to be discharged in the USSR Ministry of Defense central apparatus and other institutions, and this will require purposeful work to replace them with promising generals, admirals, and officers from the troops and fleets. It was decided to conduct a medical certification of military academy students and, if necessary, of members of their families to decide questions of future service in different climatic zones in the country.

Special attention was given to questions concerning service by internationalist servicemen returning to the motherland, and by officers and ensigns whose families suffered during the earthquake in Armenia. It is important to display utmost concern and tact toward these cadres. Measures are planned for the placement of cadres, their appointment to duty, and the provision of everything necessary for their service and life.

The conference discussion of all topics proceeded in a businesslike atmosphere. Leadership cadre officials were given a good spur to practical action. Emphasis was placed on the political meaning of measures being implemented, and professional recommendations were issued. This will certainly help to boost the responsibility of commanders, political workers, and the party aktiv in the implementation of cadre policy in the Army and Navy.

Expert Opinion Needed on CW Destruction Plant

PM1402123389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Feb 89 Second Edition p 8

[PRAVDA correspondent V. Shalgunov report: "Can We Avoid 'Chemical Pollution'? Top Secret"]

[Text] Chapayevsk, Kuybyshev Oblast—The new construction was proceeding at full speed but the local authorities did not have the slightest idea of its purpose. A veil of secrecy tightly shrouded the site 12km from the city of Chapayevsk. It was only at the end of the summer of 1987 that it ceased to be a secret. Newspapers reported that a chemical weapons destruction plant was being built there.

Today press attention is focused once again on this facility which is preparing for startup. We accompanied IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Zhigalov to Chapayevsk Party Gorkom where a meeting with V. Solovyev—commander of the unit carrying out the work—awaited us. Vyacheslav Konstantinovich answered some of our questions courteously but politely refused to allow us a visit to the plant. A group of TASS staffers who had obtained authorization from Moscow were sent there.

I will not hide the fact that we were disheartened by what happened. Especially in light of the events that are now taking place in the city. A government commission visited here recently and the people of Chapayevsk literally bombarded it with questions on meeting it. A long silence and complete lack of information gave rise to all manner of rumors and even panic. People expected honest, open discussion. However, judging by a report in the city newspaper CHAPAYEVSKIY RABOCHIY, the ministry and department representatives did not have the "requisite convincing arguments." Thousands of people are now signing an appeal demanding that construction of the plant be halted immediately.

"The alarm is quite unfounded," V. Solovyev affirmed. "Our enterprise is ecologically clean. Most reliable safety measures will be taken during delivery of the chemical agents to be destroyed."

So are the townspeople's fears and horrors exaggerated? Are they forming an incompeten' superficial opinion of things and being guided by group egoistical interests rather than by reasonable necessity?

"Fear has been evoked by bitter experience," N. Maltsev, first secretary of the party gorkom, explained. "Several chemical production units are operating in our area. They discharge approximately 10,000 tonnes of pollutants into the atmosphere every year. According to specialists' estimates, the new plant will add to this considerably. The fact that the air's sulfur dioxide and nitric oxide content and the sulfuric acid cloud are already several times in excess of the maximum permitted concentrations today should be taken into account. Events are developing against that backdrop."

The nearly 30 years that "large-scale chemistry" has existed have already made the people of Chapayevsk its hostages. At the end of last year one enterprise was shaken by yet another explosion that cost five lives at once. The incidence of disease and the mortality rate among the population are on the increase. People here retire on a pension aged 45-50 owing to the injurious nature of the production work here. Can the "city of young pensioners," as it is called in Kuybyshev Oblast, with its population of 90,000 fail to be alarmed over its future and the fate of its children?

Departmental permissiveness has truly become the scourge of our society. Officials show scant concern for the fate of individuals or even of the whole city. They seek transient advantage and the satisfaction of their ambition with no thought of the consequences. It is not a journalist's job to assess the right or wrong of building an indisputably important and necessary facility near long-suffering Chapayevsk. A serious expert ecological examination is needed to express an opinion that is independent of the Defense Ministry apparatus and the project's authors. Urgent work is needed to improve the city's environmental conditions.

At present the people of Chapayevsk have been promised that they will be shown a movie on the new production unit and that materials will be prepared for the local press, lecturers, and propaganda workers. As if it were a fait accompli the military says that the public will be given the chance to visit the plant in the near future. Well, better late than never.

All the same we weren't allowed to visit the site. Everything indicates that the USSR Defense Ministry pays primary attention to the international significance of the action being taken. This is, indisputably, great. But how each of us looks in the eyes of our compatriots is equally important.

Military Editors Join State Broadcasting Body

PM1502111189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel S. Levitskiy under the rubric "News: Facts, Events, Commentaries": "Military Editors Will Soon Start Work in USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting"]

[Text] "Some statements on the Armed Forces heard recently in television and radio broadcasts sometimes demoralize us with their incompetence...." "Military-patriotic education in the mass information and propaganda media is covered only formally, as though looking from the outside...."

These are lines from letters to the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office.

We shall not confirm or dispute anything, but the problem undoubtedly exists. In resolving it the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate have approved a provision on a department of military consultant editors at the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. This department is called on to step up the heroic, patriotic, and international education of Soviet people and servicemen; to improve the training of young people for Army and Navy service; to show competently in television and radio broadcasts the life and building of the USSR Armed Forces; to consolidate the unity of the Army and people; and to enhance the authority and prestige of military service. It is also planned to render assistance to other creative television and radio collectives—including republican, kray, and oblast collectives—and if necessary to foreign colleagues.

The new department has been set many important tasks, including maintaining close contact with the military press and popularizing it.

Well, we shall expect good-quality, prompt results from the work of the department which is being created.

*Rebuttal of Western Views on Soviet Doctrine

18010368 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Lt Col V. Rodachin, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Why the Orwellian Language Here?"]

[Text] The names of the British writer George Orwell, and his book 1984, are still little known to Soviet readers. But it is known that this novel describes a totalitarian society where a special language is in use, a language of opposites: "Freedom is slavery," "Truth is lie," "Peace is war," etc.

Such a substitution of concepts corresponds fully to the logic of totalitarianism, and, therefore, does not cause any particular surprise in the novel. Attempts by some in the West to equate the language of the new political thinking, taken by the Soviet Union, with so-called "Orwellian language," are astonishing.

This technique is used especially often when speaking about Soviet military doctrine. In its defensive aims, which reflect the political will of the Soviet people for peace and the defense of socialism, some Western theoreticians attempt to find a meaning that is exactly the opposite of the truth. Here is a sample of this approach.

"With the aid of a 'new language' in the spirit of Orwell," writes West German sovietologist (G. Vetting), the Soviet side contrives, by the very same words to different addressees, to say different things." The whole military doctrine of the USSR, he discloses his thought, is nothing other than an embodiment of the thesis: "defense is offense." The Soviet military, writes (G. Vetting), views the defense merely as a forced method of military actions, or as secondary, capable "either of supporting an offensive in other sectors, or of laying the basis for a transition to offensive actions." At the same time, the concept of "defense" serves, in his words, as a convenient propaganda form, called upon to lull the vigilance of the West.

For the sake of fairness, we note that the article by (G. Vetting) was published in April 1987, at a time when the publication of individual postulates of the defensive in principle Soviet military doctrine may have caused false impressions about its essence. But even then it had nothing in common with the "aggressiveness" supposedly inherent to socialism. Modifications of doctrinal postulates undertaken since then—acknowledgement of the impossibility of victory in nuclear war; accent on the defense as the main type of combat action; reliance on intelligent sufficiency and qualitative parameters of military construction, and others—seemingly deprived the anti-Soviets of soil for speculations in the spirit of Vetting.

Unfortunately, this did not take place. Even against the background of Western public opinion, with approval of the responsive decision by the Soviet Union on unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces, the pressure of hostile fabrications about Soviet military doctrine is still noticeable. In "Mandate for Leadership - III," recently published by the American Heritage Foundation, intended for new President George Bush, the peaceloving Soviet initiatives are evaluated as nothing other than "a more refined challenge to the West."

(G. Sherr) was even more frank on the pages of the London TIMES. He was not reticent to write that "unilateral actions and agreements on arms may, under the guise of reductions, turn into modernization of the Soviet Armed Forces." And Soviet military strategy, in his opinion, depends "not so much on numerical superiority, as on the offensive nature of its force deployment and structure. Even if the Warsaw Treaty Organization implements deeper reductions than those Gorbachev proposed, NATO will not have any special capability to stop a conventional attack."

Thus, Soviet initiatives continue to be interpreted from positions of "Orwellian language:" "disarmament is armament," and "defense is offense." It can be seen from all this that sovietologists of the neo-conservative strain do not wish to reckon with realities, if they contradict preconceptions about the "Soviet military threat." You cannot pay the bills with realities, and exploitation of the image of the "communist enemy" has always been a rather profitable enterprise in the West. Many many people, in the words of American writer N. Mailer, have made a career on this. And if they are deprived of the idea that communism is evil, "they will be confronted with real problems. They will lose their bearings."

Truly, how in this case can the need to maintain watchfulness and distrust toward everything that comes from the other side be explained to the public? How can the increase in budget allocations for military purposes that has again been noted be justified, in view of the unilateral actions by the USSR, GDR, Poland, Hungary, CSSR and People's Republic of Bulgaria, to reduce weapons and the level of defense expenditures? The draft budget for Fiscal Year 1990 that has been proposed to the U. S. Congress, provides for an increase in Pentagon expenditures to $315.2 billion. The FRG military budget will increase 3.8 percent to DM53.3 billion. France's military expenditures will increase 4.6 percent in 1989 to Fr182.8 billion. According to a report by the American-British Council on Defense Information, "NATO's New Nuclear Weapons," published in London, by 1995 the NATO bloc countries intend to deploy twice as many nuclear warheads in Europe as were to be eliminated in accordance with the Intermediate and Shorter Range Missile Treaty. In Great Britain alone, the number of American nuclear warheads may increase from today's 775 to 1,193. The program for building up NATO's conventional weapons is being implemented at full speed. Their overall military capability is to triple by the year 2000!

Distortion of the content and meaning of Soviet military doctrine is engendered, and, as long as the influential imperialist "military party" exists, will be engendered in the future, by its own militaristic aspirations. The conclusions of the ideologues of this "party" always derived, and will derive, not from the real content of our doctrine, but from their own ideological and political purposes. With such an approach, both open and veiled falsifications are inevitable. Characteristic in this regard are the manipulations that, as they apply to Soviet military doctrine, take place with the concepts of "defense" and "offense," and with the characteristics of a "defensive" and an "offensive" strategy. They attempt to prove, in particular, that one excludes the other; that a doctrine that acknowledges the possibility of offensive actions cannot be defensive. And since this is so, no matter how the Soviets renovate their doctrine, it still remains offensive, and consequently aggressive.

In this effort, a little-noticed substitution of concepts is taking place. The purely military, operational-tactical term "offense" [nastupleniye] is being presented not only as a political category, which defines the nature of a war, but even as a specific variety of war—aggression. Once this is done it is already easy to alter in one's own way the essence of Soviet military doctrine.

Such an approach is impermissible. Military science has already long shown the failure of equating the nature of doctrine with one or another type of military action. Even Klauswitz wrote in this regard: "Whether I make a battle in this theater of war that is either offensive or defensive in nature, it does not change matters."

The nature of military doctrine is determined by the policy of a state, by the interests and objectives that it pursues. For the Soviet state these are the tasks of preventing war altogether, eliminating it from the life of society, and ensuring the stable security of our country and its allies. Acknowledgement of the possibility of offensive troop actions, if war is nonetheless foisted upon us, does not change the defensive essence of our doctrine. During the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet army used extensively both defensive and offensive operations, and not only on its territory, but also on the territory of other countries. Nevertheless, its doctrine, in contrast to that of the Wehrmacht, was defensive and not aggressive. It is impossible to imagine how, without offense, the forces of the aggressor could have been thrown out of the occupied territories, and peace returned to the peoples.

The practice of restructuring of Soviet society and its foreign policy is giving more and more new arguments for confirming the defensive nature of our military doctrine. The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan is being completed. The Soviet-American Treaty on Intermediate and Shorter Range Missiles is being implemented. Reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces over a two year period by 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat airplanes has been announced. Restructuring, not verbally but in deeds, is convincing the peoples of all the world that Soviet military doctrine is written not in "Orwellian language," but in the language of candor and peace. An ever increasing part of the population of the Western countries is ceasing to believe in the "Soviet military threat." But, it is precisely this that is causing alarm to the adherents of the "party of war," and is prompting them to resort to new falsifications.